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A Magazine of Constructive Nationalism

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New Contributors in This Number

Governor Charles S. Whitman, of New York, is a national figure, and is regarded as Presidential timber. A native of Connecticut, a graduate of Amherst and New York University, he was Corporation Counsel and District Attorney of New York City. Governor Whitman's vigorous war policy has been a source of gratification to the nation.

U. S. Senator Warren G. Harding is a member of the Commerce, Naval Affairs and other committees of the Senate, and one of the recognized Republican leaders on the floor. He has been a firm and constructive supporter of the country's war policies and upon whom the Administration has leaned to considerable extent, despite contrary party affiliations. He is a newspaper editor by profession and has served as Lieutenant Governor of Ohio, and was prominently mentioned for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1916. He has been active in the enactment of nearly all the war bills, and has rarely indulged in criticism.

U. S. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, is the senior Republican Senator, and has for many years vigorously served the nation in innumerable public capacities. As a writer, speaker, and legislator, he occupies a conspicuous place in the public eye and the world of letters.

Rev. Percy Stickney Grant, pastor of the Church of the Ascension of New York, as a publicist and advocate of the Church Forum, is a distinguished writer upon aspects of social and religious questions, as well as an author of note.

Senator Irvine L. Lenroot, since 1909, has been in the House of Representatives. He ran for United States Senator in his own State at the last election against Joseph E. Davies, the Democratic choice. Senator Lenroot is a self-made man. He began his career after a public school education as court stenographer, studied for the bar, and became Speaker of the State Legislature of Wisconsin before going to Washington.

Charles M. Schwab, the New Director General of the Government Emergency Fleet Corporation, is one of the most versatile and successful captains of American industry. A day laborer in the Carnegie Steel Works, he became head of the U. S. Steel Corporation, and subsequently the master of the great "American Krupps," Bethlehem. He is a fluent speaker, an accomplished musician and a master of men and steel.

U. S. Senator George E. Chamberlain of Oregon has been the prime factor in stimulating action in the War Department by vigorous recommendations and suggestions. He is the author of the Chamberlain bill for urgent military preparedness, and was called upon to defend himself on the floor of the Senate agianst the criticisms of the President. Senator Chamberlain is the author of the War Cabinet Bill, the idea of which has been carried out in the Overman bill. Though a Southerner by birth, he has long held political office in Oregon. He is a Democrat and was governor for two terms and has been in the U. S. Senate since 1909.

The GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS Will Contribute

A SPECIALLY WRITTEN ARTICLE FOR THE JULY FORUM

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The
FORUM
For June, 1918

PUTTING NEW YORK STATE IN THE WAR

By HON. CHARLES S. WHITMAN
[GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK]

The first statement that the Governor of New York State has issued revealing the war energies of the State Defense Council

THE conspicuous place which the State of New York occupies in support of the war demonstrates the loyalty, the energy, the efficiency of the people themselves. It is they who have justified its enviable reputation as the Empire State.

In the administration of their interests the problem has not been to control, so much as it has been to apply their patriotism, to confirm their expectations of preparedness. Assuming that the greater number of our citizens could be relied upon to adopt the only cause our American principles would understand in this world conflict, it was none the less a time of anxiety when the United States declared war with Germany. It has been shown that this anxiety was unfounded, but in that fact itself there is an added pride in the war record which the foremost State has made, because of its densely populated cities, exposed industries, its intellectual radicals, its pacifists and socialists. The temper of the city of New York was an anxiety to administrative duty, as were

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those other cities in the State where foreign born citizens resided. In Albany alone there were several thousand German-born residents. Buffalo had an alien population. Kingston supported a German-American Alliance; and there were societies everywhere allied to German sympathy.

The chief inspiration for appropriate measures of administrative efficiency in the face of these new war issues that came upon us in April, 1917, was the President himself. His interpretation of the war sentiment, receiving as it did universal approbation from the whole country, found a united responsive purpose in the State of New York. I may frankly say that it was our endeavor to deserve from the Federal Government not merely an appreciation of our service, but to assist the problems in Washington, to relieve the anxieties of Federal Administration. We realized that New York State must set an example as the foremost State of the Union. Because of her overwhelming influence upon the business and social character of the whole country, we felt that the State of New York might inspire other States. We felt it incumbent upon this Administration to show an irreproachable sentiment of solid patriotism to the entire United States.

MILITARY CONSCIENCE OF THE STATE

IN justice to the people themselves, it can be said that this was not a sudden impulse. There did exist in my own mind a possibility of war, which, though submissive to the strength of our neutrality, was unavoidably impressed by the tragic spectacle of Germany's militarism as shown in 1914. It has been a unique observation, due to the broad outlook imposed upon administrative officials, that the younger element of the State discovered a military conscience shortly after the war began with Germany. There has always been a military conscience in the United States, but it has usually been awake only to a challenge for defense, awake to an impulse for defending the weak against oppression. Confining my observations directly to New York State, it was evident that a new impression of war had been aroused among the people since the outbreak of the great conflict in

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1914. It had caught something of the meaning of military preparedness in the reflected principles for which our Allies were fighting in Europe. It had dawned upon some of us in the State of New York during that period of neutrality that this country must eventually show force to defend itself from force. Naturally, being quite sure of this patriotic sentiment in the State, and in accord with the expectations of eventual war with Germany, the Administration of the State approved of certain acts in the legislature passed in 1915-16. In 1915 I supported an act which provided for the mobilization and manœuvres of the entire National Guard of the State of New York. It was further necessary and expedient in the same year to secure legislation which advocated military training for boys from sixteen to eighteen in the schools and colleges of the State. To crystallize this educational advantage, a training for boys along vocational lines was successfully promoted in the State, the idea being a supplementary course to the military training. The eagerness with which these plans were carried out by boys all over the State justified the legislation. Out of this happy awakening of the military conscience of the State of New York more definite legislation along the same line was passed in 1916, when provisions were made for an annual military camp for boys approaching military age at Peekskill. The result of this extraordinary desire for military preparedness at a time when neutrality was in force has had its advantage as a stimulus to the war interests of the young men of the State. It was impossible to escape a realization that the State of New York expected war with Germany. Therefore, the Stivers Bill put into my hands a power that would have insured the entire war strength of the State of New York for immediate service, before war was actually declared. This bill was an act for the conscription of all able-bodied males in the State between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, in case of emergency.

The Administration and the people of the State were heartily in accord on military preparedness a year before this country declared war with Germany.

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The work accomplished since the declaration of war in April, 1917, appears to have been materially inspired by the outlook, the foresight, the war spirit of the people in this State a year before the National crisis actually arrived. The President's decision was not a surprise to New York State. It was a relief, an outlet for their suppressed forces of patriotism and indignation against Germany. The efforts which the Administration and the legislature of the State exerted immediately to speed up the various war measures required by the Federal Government had already enjoyed the almost unanimous support of the people of this State. They were defensive in character, defensive in name, aggressive in spirit and feeling. The task of organizing the patriotic will of the people fell upon the Administration and the legislature. The foundation upon which the entire structure of preparedness is reared is the State Defense Council.

On May 4th, 1917, I signed an Act of the State legislature creating the State Defense Council, scarcely a month after the declaration of war with Germany. An enormous amount of responsibility, of detailed work was involved in the duties of the State Council of Defense. It was chiefly important that it should be an organization not merely of unfettered authority, but also of executive experience. It seemed that there would be great danger to the utmost efficiency of the State Defense Council if appointments were made of new executives who were not informed upon the actual conditions of the various departments of the State. I desired to prevent creating new war bureaus, new committees composed of men who would have to learn the intricate machinery of departmental management. It was my conclusion that the heads of the State Departments could be used to better purpose by additional service, perhaps, and additional labor, than to bring about the duplication of effort which new appointments in executive capacity might invoke. I exercised the power conferred upon me by the Defense Council Act to name the members of that Council. It was necessary that they should be experts in what appeared to be the most important branches of the war-work. My appoint-

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ments on the State Defense Council, therefore, were practically what might be described as the cabinet of the Administration of the State.

THE STATE DEFENSE COUNCIL

THEY were:

State Superintendent of Public Works—W. W. Wotherspoon, former Chief of Staff of the United States Army.

State Engineer and Surveyor—Frank Williams, who at that time was in charge of the work of completing the barge canal in time for war traffic.

State Commissioner of Agriculture—Charles F. Wilson, who was in a position to deal with any food problems in the State.

Brigadier General—Charles H. Sherrill, later Adjutant General of the State, in charge of the State Military Activity.

William A. Orr, my Private Secretary, was made secretary of the Council, without additional pay.

The personal sacrifices which this additional service imposed upon these official members of the State Defense Council were gladly accepted, with the understanding that no member of this Council should receive any additional pay for his exceptional services. The loyal and unselfish work which these men have performed as members of the State Defense Council I regard as a very great testimonial to their patriotism and to their inexhaustible energy.

It being evident to my mind that the United States must eventually be placed on a war footing, at the very beginning of my second term as Governer, in January, 1917, I approved and insisted that a military census and inventory of the State of New York should be taken. I regarded it as vital to the war interest of the State that we should know its man-power and its industrial power. Upon my recommendation bills were put through the legislature providing for such a census which also gave me the power and authority of conscription. This latter power I have not had occasion to use. Therefore, one of the first activities of the State Council of Defense was to secure this information, obtainable without difficulty, be-

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cause the legislature has voted an appropriation fund of one million dollars to assist any work of the State Defense Council.

By the advantages which the personnel of the State Defense Council enjoyed in having for its joint membership the active heads of the various leading departments of the State, the State's war activities and expenditures came at once under the supervision and direction of the War Council. The census work which had been previously planned was therefore taken over by the State Defense Council. I named Captain George Garr Henry of New York as Director of the military census of the State. Regarding it as the platform upon which the war strength of the State could best serve the necessities of the Federal Government, the plans for taking this military census were recommended to the various subcommittees of the State Defense Council organized in every county of the State. My personal confidence in the importance of census plans became a serious conviction that it must be done at once. To impress my personal faith in the census plan upon the people, I asked for a conference in the executive chamber in Albany of representatives of every county committee. To them, personally, I explained the scope, the significance, the necessity of a war census, and requested each county committee to name a man in their own community whom I could commission as county director of the census. This was done promptly and willingly, and when the various directors were named by me they began their separate work of organization, which required securing office and field staffs necessary for gathering the census information.

THE MILITARY CENSUS

BASED upon an estimate that there were five million six hundred thousand persons in the State of registration age, fixed by the census act as from sixteen to fifty years old, this tremendous work began. An appeal was made for volunteer service, and again the patriotic spirit of the State was evident from the enormous number of volunteers who came forward to work on the census, to complete it and to make it

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available for use by the State and the Nation. Director of the Census Captain Henry invited the leading experts in the United States in coding and cataloguing to confer with him. Many of them were the most valued experts of the Life Insurance Companies, who were promptly released to the State for war service.

Late in May, when the plans were ready for taking this tremendous military census of the State of New York, the Federal authorities requested a delay of our plans until after the passage of the Federal Conscription Bill and the draft registration which took place June 5th. This bill provided only for men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one, who were required to register for the draft. It did not seem to me that the Federal registration fulfilled the purposes of the proposed registration and census of the State of New York. In deference to the request of the Federal Government the plans for the military census of the State were deferred. On the day after the Federal enrollment was completed I issued the proclamation fixing the two weeks between June 11th and June 25th for the State Military Census registration.

During that time 5,815,969 men and women answered the eighty odd questions on the census blanks willingly. I regard this demonstration of the loyalty of the people of the State of New York to a war measure of such extended importance as one of the finest testimonials to their faith in the war plan of my administration. There was but one arrest for failure to comply with the military census law. More than 180,000 men and women volunteered their services in taking this census. They had no hope of credit of any kind; it was the unselfish patriotic duty in them that inspired them to this difficult and valuable service. Their only satisfaction was obviously in the knowledge that they were helping their country in war times. All that we were able to do in return for the splendid services they rendered was to send them a State card of thanks. It took three and a half months' time and twelve hundred paid clerks working in the New York City Census Headquarters day and night, coding, classifying

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and carding these registrations, so that it was October 20th, 1917, before the State had a card index of nearly all its citizens, their ability, and a record of their possessions that might be needed in aiding the nation to win the war. As a matter of economic information, it may be stated that the census cost $257,000, part of which was voluntarily subscribed by patriotic citizens, because the legislative appropriation for the work was insufficient. The actual cost of taking the census was about four and two-tenths cents per person.

The satisfaction which the military census of the State has given the Federal Government began to show weeks before the entire census was completed. Departments of the Federal Government began to pour in requests for information from the census to the State of New York. The Army, the Navy, the Signal Corps, the Quartermaster's Department wrote in from Washington asking for definite reports of available citizens of the State for immediate service. Food and fuel commissions wrote asking for lists of carpenters, machinists, trained nurses, cooks, bakers, butchers, telegraphers and a great number of other needs of the government. These requests were answered immediately according to the available records of the census at the time.

The only source of information obtainable by the British-Canadian recruiting commission in this country regarding the number of British subjects of recruiting age in the State of New York was obtained from this military census. We supplied a list of names and addresses of thirty thousand British subjects. When the census was completed the names and addresses of every British subject of military age were made up from the census files and turned over to the British-Canadian recruiting commission, numbering 85,612.

When the United States Shipbuilding Board required men in the Federal Shipyard we were able to furnish, through the help of this census fifty-two thousand shipbuilders; but before the government drive for the shipyard volunteers enrollment began the military census of New York had supplied the names of 68,392 trained experts who could work in the shipyard, leading all other States.

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THE CENSUS VALUE TO STATE ESPIONAGE

ANOTHER important valuation of this census of the State was shown in the complete list of German and Austrian aliens residing in New York City and Westchester County, which has been used by Federal authorities in keeping track of many of the aliens. The Department of Justice has found this military census of the State invaluable in their work for looking up suspected spies.

Over 153,000 men who desired to enter military service were in this way furnished to recruiting offices. The United States Navy wanted cooks; the census supplied them 1,800, who went into immediate service. We were also able to supply the Navy Yard with the names of 550 power-boat operators, 550 steam engineers, a number of blacksmiths, and other skilled operators.

The New York State Patriotic Food Commission was given the names of 5,750 farmers, foremen and farm laborers needed last fall to harvest the crop.

The State Military Training Commission has had access to the census files to obtain the names and addresses of all the boys of sixteen, seventeen or eighteen years of age who under the law are subject to training.

From this military census the State Education Department has been furnished with the names and addresses of non-English speaking men and women for purposes of Americanization.

Briefly these are the practical advantages which the military census of the State of New York brought about in winning the war. It is a pleasant confirmation of the work performed in this direction of the State Defense Council that the Council of National Defense at Washington is considering an order requesting all States in the Union to take a similar census as early as possible. It has been my pleasure for purposes of co-operation with the Federal Government in these plants to designate John N. Gaines of the New York Life Insurance Company to remain in Washington for the assistance of the Government. The Canadian Government

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is planning a census of all Canada upon the same lines carried out by the military census of this State.

The executive burden of the State Defense Council has been greatly relieved by the intelligence and energy of the County Defense Committee. The five counties of the City of New York are organized as one under the direction of the Mayor's Defense Committee. The up-State counties have accomplished their war work by the same system of committee organization. It is the purpose of the State Defense Council to suggest certain main points of activity so as to guide these County Committees, but the actual detail of their work is conducted on their own initiative. The County Committees handled, by individual authority in their own communities, the census, three highly successful Liberty Loans, as well as recruiting campaigns, Red Cross work, and they have cooperated with the State Food Supply Commission for food conservation. Especial care was taken by these County Committees through the entire State for conserving the crops of last fall, for increasing potato planting last spring. They have helped to co-ordinate the people of the State into compact war organization.

AN AGRICULTURAL CENSUS TO INCREASE FOOD PRODUCTION

IN a report which should be complete, so that the people of the State can receive the due measure of credit for their patriotic successes, it is necessary to point out the chief elements which the State Defense Council have considered necessary in placing the State on a war footing. Among the questions for administrative decision discussed by the State Defense Council at their first meeting last May plans were made for a thorough investigation of the agricultural situation in the State. It was imperative to increase food production, and resolutions were adopted seeking this information from the State Agricultural Schools and Colleges. In this it was intended to enable a concentration of food production through these institutions. For this purpose the New York State Food Supply Commission was created under the Administration of Charles S. Wilson, the Commissioner of

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Agriculture. Under this commission various expert bureaus were created. These bureaus were occupied with investigating under separate expert analysis, food conservation, county organization, agricultural schools and colleges, distribution, storage and marketing, loans on farm lands, transportation and machinery, seeds, fertilizers and live stock. The obvious value of these bureaus was recognized on the floor of the House of Representatives when a Congressman said: "If we had more states as well organized as New York State, there would be no necessity for Mr. Hoover." In the organization of these bureaus the plans adopted by the State Defense Council for expanding existing State Departments, and local agencies, rather than creating new and independent executives, was followed. It is encouraging in this relation to state that the organization of war activities adopted by the State of New York has been followed by the National Administration, even to the National Council itself.

The members of the State Defense Council agreed with me that increased food production would go a long way toward winning the war. Therefore, I issued a proclamation creating agricultural mobilization day. Meetings were held on that day in 1,089 communities and were attended by approximately 90,000 people interested in encouraging a food-planting campaign. And this was only the beginning. Acting through the food commission, the State Defense Council increased the potato crop, prevented wastage by plant disease, suggested ways and means of getting more food per acre from the farm, and aroused the people of the State to the necessity of food conservation. The result of this effort increased the food supply of the State fully one-third, the total value of food production at the higher prices received by the farmers last year increasing the value of food products to many millions of dollars.

RESTORING THE STRENGTH OF THE NATIONAL GUARD

IN military preparedness the State Defense Council has endeavored to place New York State first. Its first step in this direction was to bring the National Guard up to full

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war strength. At peace strength it numbered 19,000 men. Its war strength is about 41,000 men. When it was evident that the National Guard would be called into Federal Service the State Defense Council applied to Washington for permission to recruit the organizations to their full strength. This permission was refused by the Federal Government upon the ground that no such move should be made until after the Federal Draft registration. The State Defense Council, desiring above all thing an assurance of a foremost military standing for the State of New York, determined, nevertheless, that something must be done to bring to war strength the National Guard. It was not at all beyond possibility that the Federal Government would require the active services of the National Guard sooner, perhaps, than they expected. Therefore, in spite of the refusal of permission from Washington, the Adjutant General was requested to conduct a campaign to list 10,000 men who would be willing to join the National Guard and ready to serve when the call came. At this time, through discharges from service for various reasons, and through enlistment expirations, the peace strength of the National Guard, which should have been 19,000 men, was reduced to about 11,000. The State Defense Council had not miscalculated, for on June 6th, 1917, word was received from Washington to recruit the National Guard to full war strength as quickly as possible. The preliminary work which had been accomplished in the meantime made this possible. On July 15th the National Guard of the State of New York was turned over to the Federal Government by the State Defense Council at full war strength of forty-one thousand men. We took great pride in turning these forces over to the Federal Government as a demonstration of the war loyalty of the State of New York. We armed and equipped these men at a cost to the State of nearly $400,000, because the Federal Government could not get the supplies soon enough. As a further endorsement of the National Government the State Defense Council organized Camp Whitman at Beekman with the expectation that it should be used as a concentration camp. To make it ready for this expected occupation the State spent

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$35,000. Up to date, however, it has been used only infrequently by one or two regiments. It can accommodate 20,000.

Almost simultaneously with the transfer of the National Guard of the State, and its departure for the war, the Naval Militia of the State of New York was increased and turned over to the Federal Government for service in the United States Navy. The extent of this increase of numbers is noteworthy. On April 1st, 1917, the Naval Militia of the State had only 1,910 men and officials. By the following September, during an interval of five months, the recruiting energies had raised this force to 13,512 men and officers. They were all called to Federal Service, including Aviation Branch of the Naval Militia. Certain aviation fields and equipment, supplied with money voluntary subscribed by patriotic societies and private citizens of the State, were also taken over by the Government.

GUARDING AGAINST ALIEN ENEMIES

UPON the departure of the National Guard of the State to the front the State Defense Council realized that a State guard would have to be organized to replace the 8,000 National Guardsmen who had been doing sentry duty at certain vital points in the State guarding railroads, canals, important bridges, and the New York City Water Supply. It was obvious that New York State was in a position of danger from alien enemies, because of its great wealth, its large industries, its water front, and that it was therefore imperative that its arteries of commerce and its larger cities should be adequately protected. The experience of guardsmen on duty, especially at strategic points in the State, demonstrated the wisdom to the State Defense Council for the expenditure of money to maintain soldiers for this guard duty. Therefore, "depot" organizations were recruited, forming a nucleus of a new State army of 10,000. That number is required by the Constitution to be within the borders of the State at all times. This force was organized upon the system of the former National Guard, using the same numerical designations and armories. It was, of course, the intention

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of the State Defense Council to recruit this guard from men who were not available for the Federal draft. This was done so rapidly that when the National Guardsmen were called to the Federal Service their places were taken in the State by companies of the "New York Guard." This was the name given to the new organization. In three months from the time the National Guard was called out of the State the New York Guard had a strength of ten thousand men. They were armed with rifles purchased in Canada because there were none available in this country. They were supplied with uniforms and fully equipped for service. Something like $200,000 was appropriated to equip the New York Guard. As a result of an X-ray method of tuberculosis investigation many thousands of lives will be saved. Another $40,000 was voted by the State Defense Council to supply the chaplains of the National Guard with automobile trucks and such equipment as they would require in their work among the guardsmen. This was the first time in the history of the State that army chaplains have had material they needed for their work. No effort, of course, has been considered too great by the State Defense Council to safeguard the soldiers. An appropriation of $77,000 was voted for woolen coats, sheepskin overcoats, woolen breeches and gloves, and lumbermen's boots for the New York Guard on long tours of duty in the exposed districts of the State during the winter. In addition to this $30,000 was voted for special barracks, portable houses, to be erected at fixed posts along the lines of the railroads, canals, and water-supply systems, at the Poughkeepsie bridge over the Hudson River, at the Niagara Bridge. We realized that the safety of these great structures of the State from spy attacks or enemy bombs was vital because of the destruction of any of them would take years to replace and cause untold delays in the shipment of war supplies.

The women of the State were organized for war work under the women's division of the State Defense Council. Women's committees have been created in each county of the State for an extension of the War Organization of the State,

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down through school districts, creating what are known as community council. Men and women in each school district confer. They organize boards of directors, of whom one-third are women, and who must be representatives of existing war agencies in their respective communities. The work which the women of the State of New York have done for the war is extensive. There are a thousand and one things the women do to help the soldiers, to keep the camps clean, and to knit warm woolen clothes for them. They have helped loyally in taking the military census of the State, in getting subscriptions for the Red Cross War Fund, in campaigning for Liberty Bond issues.

PUTTING 20,000 BOYS ON THE FARMS

THE upheaval in labor, which began when the Government enrolled great numbers for Government service, was one of the most difficult war problems of the State Defense Council. We decided that it was a question which the State Industrial Commission would perhaps handle better than any newly-created war body. Upon my suggestion Henry D. Sayer, the State Industrial Commissioner, was selected to supervise the war activity, and the council approved of my selection. A delegation of fruit growers from the western part of the State, for instance, called upon me in the executive chamber last September and explained the possible collapse of their fruit crop, caused by shortage of labor. The fruit was rotting on the trees because they were unable to get help to gather it. Upon investigation I found that this shortage of labor was by no means confined to Western New York. It was, therefore, the task of the State Defense Council to supply special labor for the harvest.

The Food Supply Commission was thereupon authorized to employ sixty farm cadet camp leaders drafted from the Y. M. C. A., and other boys of suitable age for light farm work were encouraged by the Department of Education to go to these Y. M. C. A. camps from which the farmers were supplied with labor. The camps, of course, were under State jurisdiction. The boys were paid $2.00 a day by the

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farmers, and they were furnished with living quarters, supplying nothing themselves but bedding. More than 16,000 boys between the ages of sixteen and nineteen relieved the shortage of farm labor during last fall. They were allowed credit for the time spent on the farms under the military training law, and credit in their school work by the educational department. The response which the boys themselves gave to this plan of the State Defense Council was very largely patriotic and unselfish. The outcome of it has been a body known as the New York State Boys' Working Reserve, of which Mr. Sayer is director. More than 20,000 high-school boys and young men have been enrolled in farm work this summer. The boys are excused from school and are given school credit for farm work if they have obtained a scholarship standing of 75 per cent. or more. They were released for spring planting work immediately, and will be permitted to remain on the farms long enough in the fall to harvest the crop.

The spirit of war loyalty in the State was so universal that the State Defense Council has had only to formulate a plan requiring the services of the people to have it accomplished at once. Naturally, there was a continuous anxiety concerning the presence of hundreds of thousands of foreigners among us, many of them alien enemies. It was realized that they were a danger to our war preparation, especially in New York State, a transportation, manufacturing and shipping center for the entire country.

DRIVING OUT THE "FIRE BUGS"

THEREFORE, the safety of our mills and warehouses and our factories was a very serious consideration. While we were dealing with this problem it was brought to my attention that New York State's annual fire loss in food and materials necessary for the war was $30,000,000. By the first part of July I arranged with the National Board of Fire Underwriters and the Underwriters' Association of New York State to release to the State service, free of charge, over one hundred of their expert fire inspectors, the purpose being

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to clean up fire hazards throughout the State. So, on July 3rd the State Defense Council passed a resolution creating the Bureau of Fire Prevention, to work under the Industrial Division of the Council. Over one hundred expert inspectors visited all factories and industrial plants, suggesting to the owners or managers sudden fire prevention which would be necessary because of the war condition of the country. This was a loyalty service of far-reaching advantage to the State. The inspectors would simply recommend certain devices, in some cases barbed-wire protection in dark corners of alleys and yards. The salaries and expenses of these inspectors were paid by the insurance companies. A list of plants to be inspected was supplied from classified lists, and the names of contractors engaged in Government war contracts were obtained from the Federal Government. So serious was the fire menace in the State at one time that I issued a fire prevention proclamation calling for the utmost vigilance of our citizens to prevent loss of food or munition supplies by fire and asking the co-operation of owners of factories in the inspection plans. The inspectors met generally with courteous treatment and co-operation from the war contractors. October 9th was proclaimed as "fire prevention" day and was observed throughout the State by special demonstrations. By the end of December 1,048 fire hazards have been removed in 549 industrial plants. Outside of New York City 4,527 reports on factories were made and 485 have been made since. The Fire Prevention Bureau protected several villages and cities from imminent danger of fire during the coal famine by arranging with the State Fuel Administrators to keep the waterworks supplied with coal.

PATRIOTIC SERVICE OF THE DRAFT BOARDS

NEW YORK STATE has not only taken the lead of other States in securing enlistments for the various branches of the war service, but the draft machinery of the State has been so perfected under the State Defense Council that the movements of men and troops have been accomplished on schedule without any difficulty. One of the difficult duties of

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the administration in relation to the soldiers was that of selecting and nominating to the President for appointment three members for each draft board preceding the enrollment on June 5th of all males between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one. There being one board approximately to every 30,000 inhabitants of the State, there were 354 draft boards in the State of New York, 189 boards in New York City alone. It was under these draft boards in this State that the work of preparing for the registration was carried out, and on June 5th, the date set by the President for the registration, 1,019,683 men in New York State of draft age were registered. This was one-tenth of the total number registered in the entire United States. After the registration the actual work of sorting the men began. It is due to the high patriotic purpose of the men on these draft boards, on the appellate boards and their assistants that the tremendous work performed by New York in raising the quota for the National Army has been so successful. On September 5th, 1917, the first of the drafted men were on their way to camp, and since then these movements have been continued. A few cases of corruption among men on the draft boards were promptly discovered, and the men were convicted. More than eleven hundred members of the draft board accomplished their difficult work without question as to their integrity, their unselfishness and their honesty of purpose.

Once the military machinery of the State had been set in motion, the next problem involved the individual relations to civil life which the soldiers themselves could not immediately dispose of. It became evident when the drafting process first began that many of the men taken into the National Army would need the services of lawyers to straighten up their private affairs. The State Defense Council thereupon suggested to County Defense Committees a plan of local organizations to be known as legal service committees. These lawyers were to give their time and effort free to the services of the drafted men who needed them. They co-operated with the Red Cross. The success of this plan in New York State has induced the National Council of Defense in Washington to

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adopt the same method, advising other States to follow the plans of New York. Medical advisory committees were created in all draft districts to assist the medical officers of the draft board. Physicians and surgeons all over the State gave free treatment and performed minor operations upon soldiers so that they would be able to qualify physically for the draft. The health of the soldier was especially safeguarded by the State Department of Health under the direction of the State Defense Council. A portion of the vaccines and serums used by the United States Government have been supplied from the Health Department laboratories of New York State. We have had the opportunity to supply the British Government with some of these serums. The State laboratories are working night and day to keep the supply of these serums up to the demand.

OTHER EFFECTIVE WAR ACTIVITIES

I HAVE named only the chief activities of the State Defense Council. The Council has carried out in New York State every suggestion from Washington that would aid in winning the war. We assisted in a campaign of New York State for signing the Hoover pledge cards in the food conservation movement. New York State turned in many thousands of these cards, more than its quota. At my suggestion the State Defense Council approved and published a plan for saving coal, which, I am reliably informed, was very generally carried out. For a time there was a growing tendency to obtain money by fraud from the public in the name of "war charity." This has been curbed in the State of New York by a plan of the State Defense Council requesting that each county defense committee supervise and license real war charities in its district. Restriction was put upon retail deliveries in stores as a means of conserving man power. I issued a proclamation last August requesting that this plan be observed. Co-operative delivery schemes have been put into operation in small places in the State as a result of this request.

The State Defense Council approved the plan of the Government to send a continuous stream of army motor

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trucks over the state road from Buffalo to New York, and co-operated through state and county agencies to speed the trucks on their way.

Bridges were strengthened to allow heavy trucks to cross safely. Thousands of these trucks went from Buffalo down the Mohawk and Hudson Valleys to New York City. Frequently the men, although in the Federal Service, in charge of these trucks were housed and fed along the route by the co-operation of the up-State county committees. The damage to the State roads caused by this continuous strain of heavy trucks has been severe. A million dollars will be needed to repair these roads this year, which amount has been appropriated.

The public sentiment with relation to the war can best be judged by the response made by the citizens of the State of New York to all calls for service issued by the National Government.

THE TWILIGHT OF EMPIRE

By LESLIE NELSON JENNINGS

POWERS and principalities, and all
Who honor them with blood and give them name
In desolate lands that testify in flame,
Shall see at last the terrible twilight fall.
The dusk of empire! Even this shall come!
Symbols like leaves shall flutter from their hands;
And lips, once failing of the old commands,
Shall find a deeper silence, and be dumb.

Shadows have stol'n their purple. Even now
The kings go down to darkness and defeat.
From tottering thrones, forgetful of the wars
That tortured them with dreams, they disavow
Title and conquest and the judgment seat,
Dwarfed in the council chambers of the stars.

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CAUSES OF OUR WAR DELAY

By HON. WARREN G. HARDING
[UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM OHIO]

At a time when some of the shortcomings in departmental affairs of the nation are being brought to light, this conservative Senator's article is particularly illuminating.

IT is no small task to commit a great republic and all its energies to gigantic warfare. We were slow in the spiritual committal, precisely as the German war lords had figured it. Of necessity, the material committal lagged behind the spiritual.

One must write the two sides of it in one sentence to be perfectly fair. The republic is accomplishing wonders in war preparation and at the same time facing the most woeful disappointments. Congress has been trying, with patriotic purpose, not partisan design, to fix the blame or reveal the weaknesses and cure them. The investigations have helped, even though many revelations have been disconcerting and temporarily discouraging. President Hurley, of the Shipping Board, asked the Senate Committee on Commerce, which has to do with the shipping problem, to continue its sittings in investigation, asserting that the committee's inquiries and its conferences with the officials of the Shipping Board had proven of inestimable value in speeding up the work. Apart from the coordination proven necessary and promptly effected, the greatest help came from putting the public in touch with the tremendous task and committed the people to its solution. No enterprise can fail when all America is back of it.

If the reader wants to put the finger of blame for delay on a general sponsor for our disappointments, let him point to General Indecision. There it is, in one name. There is nothing surprising about it, and it is easily understood,

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though hardly excusable. It was a tremendous task to turn from our very small army to a military establishment commensurate with the war for the freedom of the world. We have the resources, energies, industries, genius and men, but the tasks were instantly multiplied by hundreds. A War Department budget in 1914 carried one hundred and four millions. The Army appropriation for the fiscal year of 1819-19, asked for on the day of this writing, is thirteen billions, and these figures do not cover many expenditures that are an essential part of the Army program. Little wonder, then, that staggering tasks halted decision. And there was psychological hindrance. Pacifists, Socialists and those who developed to be disloyalists, proclaimed our entry into the war to be impelled by Wall Street and capitalistic commercial and industrial greed—a libel long since disposed of—and there was reluctance to call to Government aid the big men, Captains of industry and eminent examples of big successes, lest there be a confirmation of the pacifist propaganda. We could have profitably employed a Schwab and a Ryan and a score of others in the waiting days of indecision, but the thundering guns of the German drive in Flanders were necessary to awaken us to the value of big men in big undertakings in a big hurry.

There is much to gratify the righteous ambition of the republic to assume a great people's part in the war. The Navy has answered the hopes of our people, and is growing in might every passing day. The creation of the Army answers very high expectations. It more than exceeds our capacity to transport men and supplies. Moreover, the men are ready and eager. Facilities are ample for the training of men to compose an army of three millions, and these cantonments sprang up in magic rapidity.

THREE DISAPPOINTING TRUTHS ABOUT OUR FAILURES

LET the anxious American and the beckoning Allies understand that we are now one hundred per cent efficient in producing rifles, one hundred per cent in clothing, one hundred per cent in small arms ammunition. Our soldiers at the

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front are supplied with artillery—a contribution of the French to our effectiveness—and the supply of machine guns is fairly up to requirements, in spite of controversies and attending delays.

There are three disappointing truths about our failures. We are a full year behind in producing nitrate and powder, in spite of Congressional promptness with appropriations. There is ample powder for present needs, but we cannot hope to supply an army expanded to three millions before another year has elapsed. Blame General Indecision, who is also responsible for our utter lack of cannon and all mounted guns for the battle front. We have begun now, to be sure, and we shall ultimately produce enormously, but there will be little heard from artillery made in America before a year from date. We have contracted for $500,000,000 in artillery, and today more than a thousand forges and lathes are committed to the output.

AIRCRAFT THE SUPREME FIASCO

IT is distressing to write of the Aircraft failure. It is the supreme fiasco. The Senate spent less than one hour appropriating $640,000,000 for aircraft production in July, 1917, and on May 1, 1918, we had constructed thirty air-machines designed for actual war use. It is fair to write that we builded amply and fairly promptly the needed aeroplanes for the wonderful training fields, where the finest young manhood of America is encamped, but we have failed utterly, miserably and pitiably in performing the big part that the nursery of aerial navigation was expected to play in this stupendous conflict. No one seems to be certain of the reasons for our aircraft failure. The means were ready, and we boasted both genius to conceive and capacity to produce. Probably we sought too much in the way of out-speeding the world when results would have been surer in outnumbering the Germans. At any rate, we did not apply our productive energies to making the proven machines which grew out of the war experiences of England and France, which would have seemed to be the sensible course, while we experimented

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to develop the wonder craft which should be distinctly American, and have missed making the one master contribution to our Allies, fighting in desperation for the maintained ideals of our civilization. The whole aerial program has been subjected to reorganization since the fiasco has been revealed, and the comforting thought is that decisive action and concentrated energies, ample for every aircraft need, will be applied to saving the situation. Mr. Ryan will have Congress and the mechanics of America and all the republic cordially back of him in his urgent and enormous task.

It is gratifying to know, in the midst of tardiness and delay, amid the harvest of indecision and the failure to rivet our energies in the precious months of the first year of our participation, that in the preparedness that gave us earliest and deepest concern the committal of the republic is giving highly encouraging results. It will soften the disappointments to remember that the United States must have ships to transport our war energies to the European battlefields. No nation ever before attempted war activities comparable to our plans at a distance of three thousand miles away by sea. England had learned the enormity of the task in the Boer war. Germany knew the difficulties involved and discounted our strength in accordance with her knowledge of our shipping. We little realized our decadence as a maritime power, but the world knew. We were dependent on our rivals to handle our commerce in peace and impotent to meet sea-carrying needs of war. The remnant of sea-going ship-building plants had been committed to naval construction before we were actually involved. We had adopted the paternal plan of restoring a merchant marine before the war, but nothing had been done. It will avail nothing to recite the hindering developments before April, 1917, or in the six months following.

NOW THE GREATEST SHIPBUILDERS IN THE WORLD

THE big thing now is that we are suddenly become the greatest shipbuilders of the world. Ship steel has the very special priority in production and transportation by rail,

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and baker and taxi-driver have been turned to riveters. We are building as no nation ever dreamed of attempting. In April we launched more than a quarter of a million deadweight tons, and the monthly contribution to our cargo capacity at sea will reach 350,000 tons per month before the winter weather hinders our activities again. I speak only of steel ships. The concrete ship is the great maritime adventure, with measureless possibilities. We are exploring the unknown field, risking the loss in outlay to chance the wonderful possibilities. Three million tons of new shipping this year, exclusive of wood ships, is a conservative promise. The wood ship division of the Emergency Fleet Corporation promises a million and three-quarters deadweight tons by July, 1919.

Figures mean little to the average reader. The significant statement is that by the middle of 1919 the English, French and American production will have restored the Allied merchant marine to its status before the submarine destruction began, provided the sub-sea destruction is not increased meanwhile. It may be written with reasonable certainty that the submarine destruction will be very much decreased. The particulars must not be written, but genius and capacity and courage are effectively meeting the German menace.

It will add little of value to recite the acquirement of tonnage from neutrals and allies, it will not enhance the miracle story to relate the transfers in lake, West Indian and coastwise service, but the result is shipping to meet war needs, though there is embarrassment to much of commerce that we wish, but is not imperative. There is growing relief in whitening the safe paths of the sea with our sails again, and in the fullness of certain development this year we shall build to a complete readiness in transportation for the preparedness in men and munitions to which the country is committed.

The picture is made clear by recalling that more than a quarter of a million men are hammering ships into being, in yards conjured, in the main, out of American determination. Hundreds of thousands more are rolling steel and fabricating

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plates, cutting timbers, building boilers, engines and other equipment, making an inspiring spectacle far too big to visualize. It is costing enormously, at times clouded in anxiety, but we are building to meet the emergencies of war and creating an asset for the republic in peace.

The Nation which is righteous in war must be eminent in the comities of peace, and out of the trials, disappointments and measureless cost of today will remain preparedness for both defense and peace on the morrow of a national day.

OBSERVATIONS OF EPICTETUS, Jr.

By LEWIS ALLEN

THERE is only one thing easier than giving advice, and that is to criticise government officials.

There are two kinds of good Prussians—one dead and the other interned.

Faith will take our boys over the top, but it won't provide them with helmets.

In our grim lexicon of war there's no such word as Peace.

Don't be a carper. A carp, remember, is a poor German fish.

The one thing Germany fears is that justice will be meted out to her.

Three new ships a day keeps the Huns away.

One " Ace " is better than three Kings in war.

We've got to make more guns, more ships, more aircraft before we can make more history.

An investigation in Congress is worth two in private.

" Soldiers fight—and kings are heroes," in Germany.

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THE SHIPBUILDER'S JOB

By CHARLES M. SCHWAB

An Interview with the Forum

GOD has endowed this nation with more natural resources and its people with greater enthusiasm and energy than any other nation on His earth, and we are going to make our mark in history, marine history included. The United States has never been defeated in war and we are not going to be defeated now. And so far as merchant ships are necessary to the winning of the war, they are going to be produced. I'm not giving dates and figures, for that would be mostly guess work; but in time to contribute their bit.

I took this job because the President and the Shipping Board insisted that I take it; not, I assure you, because I wanted it. I don't mean to say I didn't want to serve my country in any capacity. Thousands are being sent to the front, so why shouldn't I be drafted?

I was already engaged in big undertakings for the government. The Bethlehem establishment is now handling about $600,000,000 worth of war work for this country and its Allies. Ninety-five per cent. of its facilities is devoted to governmental and war work. A large portion of that consists of shipbuilding for the Emergency Fleet, a still larger aggregate portion to ship equipment, machinery, plates for fabricated vessels, and so on. It's going to be handled all right without me, but then I was interested in it and naturally wanted to see it through. But when they said I was needed in this job I let loose and came on, and from the first moment I have been interested in it as I was never interested in a task before. Goodness knows, I love Bethlehem, and am proud of it, but it is all suspended, dismissed, abjured for the present except as it relates to the success of this undertaking.

My wife was even astonished at the way I went into

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this. A few mornings after I took hold she remarked, laughingly, "The old warhorse must smell gunpowder now, I never saw him so fussed up over anything before."

It's a venture rather novel to me. It is my first public position. I've never taken part in politics, except to vote and line up inconspicuously with the party of my choice. The concerns with which I have been associated have done work for Administrations of all political complexions and governments of all types; so I have always thought it best to leave active politics alone. Besides, I haven't had time for it. I have only one political speech to my credit. It was made over at Braddock thirty years ago, when I was young and impulsive. I urged the election of the Republican ticket. As a consequence, or as a fact, the town went Democratic for the first and only time, I believe, since the Civil War. I decided then that practical politics wasn't my field and clung thereafter to business.

NO LIMIT ON HIS AUTHORITY

FURTHERMORE, I have been absolute master in every undertaking with which I was associated in the industrial world. Even when I was with Mr. Carnegie I was absolute within my province, with no limitation of any form or character on my authority; I could do anything I pleased and as I pleased; within the realm of my activities I have always had the power, so to speak, of a czar or dictator.

I have everything I want that can be given by those in control. It isn't my job to initiate, but to construct. The Shipping Board or the Emergency Fleet board finds out what is needed; my job is to see that it is produced.

The American people in an abstract, unofficial sense can help with encouragement, enthusiasm, confidence, determination; not for me personally, but for those working with us. Never in my life has any one worked for me; they all work with me. Spur on the chaps with the riveters, cheer them, show that we believe in them and are depending confidently on them. Boost!

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So far as I have been able to examine the work being done at first hand, it is good; that is to say, as a whole. I have been able to visit scarcely any yards except those in the Philadelphia district. The ones there that have been completed and equipped are well located, well constructed, and as perfectly equipped as I have ever seen. Others are progressing nicely and I believe when completed will be equally as efficient.

Why did I move the Emergency Fleet to Philadelphia?

The shipbuilding zone is there, about four times the size of the District of Columbia. Within that area forty-five per cent. of the ships are being and will be constructed, which means that Philadelphia is the practical center of operations. The place for any executive is in the middle of the zone of activity.

I moved the Emergency Fleet offices to Philadelphia for the same reason that when I took over Bethlehem I closed my New York house and removed to the town where most of the work was going on.

This doesn't mean that shipbuilding necessarily is to be restricted to or centered in the Philadelphia district. Ship yards are scattered along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts and on the Pacific, operations out there centering in the Northwest. Materials, labor and shops influence the location and enlargement of yards, and those things make it necessary that the largest proportion of the work be done in the Philadelphia district, as is the case.

Where extensions or enlargements are made it will be at those places which have demonstrated by actual results the best ability for producing. We are getting to the point now where we can apply some very practical tests, and they will be applied.

TO GIVE THE WORKMEN PROPER RECOGNITION

MY happiest reflection on my past business career has to do with my relations to the workingman. I believe I understand him, I know I sympathize with him—not in the

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apologetic sense or a patronizing sense—but in the sense that all of us who are worth while are workingmen. Like all of us, he needs encouragement, and, beyond everything, proper recognition of his services. You not only need to pay him for what he does—few men work for mere pay—but to lend him incentive, appeal to his pride, and deal with him on the basis of those broad humanities which make all mankind kin.

I don't anticipate any serious trouble with labor. I have never had any in my own shops. There may have been criticism of labor conditions at Bethlehem. If there has been any trouble there, any noteworthy dissatisfaction, certainly it wasn't very important, for it was not brought to my attention.

The man who does the laborious task is just as much a part of the establishment as the president, and should be just as much interested in its success.

I cannot discuss the labor policies in particular that shall govern me. Some of the principles that have been applied at Bethlehem, especially at the Bethlehem shipyards, will be employed in giving labor proper recognition and inciting incentive for the very best endeavor.

I do not believe we will have much trouble getting the needed workmen, and I am confident they will go about the job enthusiastically and patriotically.

The men respond to the right kind of appeal. It's a delight to me to visit the yards and mingle with the men. All they need is leadership from some one whom they believe in and think will treat them right.

THE PROBLEM OF COORDINATION

COORDINATION is a big problem and one governed at times by factors over which we have no control. Weather conditions bear upon it heavily and so does transportation, for many items enter into the construction and equipment of a vessel. These must be kept moving toward the yards in proper proportion to insure full productivity. I don't believe we will have any serious trouble on the score of the basic materials like steel, though the demands on the

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mines and foundries are tremendous. I am a steel man, of course, but have no prejudice in its favor so far as ship construction is concerned. It is only stating a common fact to say that steel is the most important basic ingredient entering into the program. But we are going to build all the wooden ships we can and all the concrete ships, too, if they are found efficacious, and tests to date are satisfactory.

When I planned the Bethlehem organization I put down duties for every one except the president. When some one asked what the president's duties would be, I replied that in the right kind of an organization the president should have no duties. You see, he should be free to watch the general movement and have time to give thought to the higher questions that have to be decided. The idea is carried out on this plan.

It may be well in peace times to prepare for war, but in war there is but one uppermost thing to accomplish, and that is victory—to attain honorable peace. I doubt the wisdom of blending peace problems with war pursuits, for nothing we planned or did would be of account if we should lose the war. Hence we are building ships with which to aid in winning the war, and that prime and all essential aim should never escape us or be obscured by incidental issues.

However, the incidental value of the ships in making the readjustments necessary to peace will be enormous. Whatever happens, the world is going to be short of ocean-going tonnage, and needed reconstructions will cause heavy freight movements to continue at least for some years. Should peace find us, as war did, without ships, we would be tremendously handicapped in the fight for trade that will begin as soon as the war ends. With ships we will be fortified; perhaps have immense advantage over other industrial nations.

THE RESTORATION OF OUR MERCHANT MARINE

ASIDE from the practical advantages, the glory and credit attaching to the restoration of America's merchant marine should, as an incidental reward, be ample recompense

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for our efforts. Ships alone are not going to win the war, but without ships the war couldn't be won at all. They are indispensable, and a great and rapid increase of tonnage is absolutely necessary.

We shall not draw upon the industrial forces for organization of the fleet personnel. They have enough to do, and virtually all of that force is for the Government. I anticipate no difficulty in working out a satisfactory organization here.

We want the American public to back up our workmen, encourage them, applaud them, show that we believe in them, let them know we are not depending on them alone to do their mechanical best, but their patriotic best. It's a matter of patriotism, of country, of ideals, and it doesn't rest on me and Hurley and the rest of the Shipping Board or the others higher up. The job must be done by the workmen on the ways, the mechanics in the shops, the foremen and the superintendents away from the public gaze. All we up at the top can do is grease the wheels, tone up the machine as a whole; the fellows who are wielding the hammers are the ones who are going to operate the machine. They deserve the credit for what is done, and I am going to see that they get it.

"I WANT THE SOUL OF THE WORKMAN IN HIS WORK"

THE spirit of the men I meet in the yards stirs me, the snap they put into their work and the patriotism. No matter how good a workman a man is, I want his soul in the work. That is the big thing; that's real patriotism, and what we must encourage and cheer. Boost, boost, boost. Criticize if you must—but don't knock.

We call the *Tuckahoe* the "racehorse ship." It wasn't built to show what is going to be done—the boys say they are going to beat that record, and other yards are getting ready to go after it. It was put through in 27 days to show what can be done, not to the public so much, but to the men themselves who are doing the work.

Napoleon said that if he won his first battle he never felt

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uneasy about the success of a campaign, for then he could depend on the morale, the spirit and confidence of his army. I always think of that when I take up a big task—and this shipbuilding job is about the biggest single one I was ever identified with—and make it a point to win the first encounter. After that I feel confident, and I feel confident now about building these ships, for confidence exists where it ought to and must—among the workmen.

We are going to build the ships. Don't ask me how many we are going to build this year or next; I am going to let results do the boasting and leave prophecy alone. England, which is the greatest of shipbuilding countries, had capacity for constructing only about 1,500,000 tons annually. It takes time to construct and enlarge yards and get them going fully. Instead of trying to figure out what our maximum output will be at any particular time, just wait, and before you realize it the sky may be the limit. We have the materials, the mechanical ability, the determination, and we are developing the needed skill.

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THE WAR WORK OF CONGRESS

By HENRY CABOT LODGE

The senior Republican United States Senator, Henry Cabot Lodge, conveys in this article the inner life of Congress. He speaks as the historian of contemporary events with the fine perspective of accurate vision. As President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, he has contributed with rare literary value his ideas of the work of Congress. Through their courtesy, the FORUM *for the first time presents this record. It is a character study as well as an analysis of the United States Government at war*

WHEN Canning uttered his famous declaration in the House of Commons that he would call in the new world to redress the balance of the old, he little thought how that declaration would be carried out. We have entered the war and we are now engaged in the great effort to redress the balance of the old world.

It will be remembered that the last Presidential election turned and was decided upon the assertion that the President had kept the peace and that he would continue to keep the peace. Many Democrats, I think, voted for the Republican candidate, but many more Republicans voted for Mr. Wilson on the sole ground that he had kept the peace; and although the margins in many States were narrow, the result was decisive.

The President, on the 18th of December, almost immediately after the assembling of Congress, sent to the powers, the other nations of the world, what was known as the "peace note," which seemed to be the logical deduction from the election which had just taken place. It so chanced that the note appeared almost simultaneously with Germany's first attempt to bring about some sort of German peace—an unlucky coincidence. The President followed up his note by an address to the Senate in favor of a league for peace, what might be called a peace plan. That was on January 22, 1917. Both the peace note and the peace plan brought forth much criticism and caused but little satisfaction here. It is not, therefore, without interest in this connection to consider for a mo-

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ment their reception in Germany, which does not seem to have accorded entirely with the enthusiasm of Count Bernstorff, who, in a New York newspaper, compared the President's note to the Star of Bethlehem.

There has recently been published a book entitled "My Four Years in Germany," by Mr. Gerard, which is very interesting and very instructive as to the effect of the President's position in the winter of 1916-1917 upon German opinion. It appears from Mr. Gerard's book that all the leading members of the Government, as well as the German press—and I suppose Germans generally, although that does not matter—all felt that after the election carried upon the peace issue and after the President's peace note there was no possibility of the United States going into the war; that neither the President could advise war nor that the people would follow him into war if he should advise it. They were also dissatisfied with the "peace plan" because it was not in every respect as consonant with German plans and as thoroughly friendly to Germany as they expected and desired it to be.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE GERMAN MIND

THIS attitude of the German mind is an interesting illustration of the point at which the Germans have been curiously inefficient—their utter failure to form any just judgment of the psychology of other nations. They were perfectly confident that England would not come into the war. They believed England to be on the verge of civil war, and it broke on them with a shock of tremendous surprise when England went unitedly into the war upon the invasion of Belgium. We learn from Mr. Gerard's book that a similar surprise was occasioned in Germany when we acted and went to war with practical unanimity.

I do not think that the fact of this German belief in our determination to have peace at any price was decisive of their action; I believe that they would have taken the same action in any event, but they were, nevertheless, proceeding upon that belief. They followed up the President's plan for peace by declaring a new submarine zone, and stated in their note

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to us that we could send one ship, painted as nearly as one could make out like a barber's pole, once a week to some given port, but that with this insulting exception they were going to make the new submarine campaign ruthless and all-destructive. The Chancellor stated that this new campaign had been delayed merely because they were waiting until they had completed a sufficient number of submarines. We realize now just what that statement meant. It meant that the assurances which they had given to this country after the *Sussex* incident were absolutely false and that every note they wrote was false, and that they knew them to be false and meant them to be so; that they had no idea of carrying out any one of those assurances. Therefore, when they issued their declaration of the new zone they, of course, broke all the assurances which they had given this country, and thereupon the President severed relations with Germany on the third of February, 1917.

The Congress was then drawing toward its last days. It was a period of very deep anxiety and very severe strain, because it was not at all clear what we were going to do. The President asked for authority from Congress to arm merchantmen. A bill for that purpose passed the House and came to the Senate in the closing days of February. It was reported unanimously from the Foreign Relations Committee, but in the Senate a resistance in the form of parliamentary obstruction developed on the part of a small group of Senators who have since, with a few exceptions, been resisting or seeking to injure directly or indirectly all war legislation. Owing to the fact that we were in the last day of the session, the cloture could not be applied; there was not time for it and there was, therefore, no method of giving the President by law the authority asked for. I was inclined myself to agree with him that he could have armed the merchantmen without specific authority from Congress. The importance of Congressional action, it seemed to me then, was that in this way we gave the crews of merchantmen and all men on board a military status and took them out of the possibility of being treated as pirates. There was a defect in our ex-

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isting laws which ought to have been covered. But however that may be, the bill failed and Congress adjourned.

The President at first was inclined not to call the new Congress until the last possible moment. There were three large, regular appropriation bills which went over, and this made it necessary in any event to summon Congress before the end of the fiscal year, which was June 30, 1917. But overt acts continued to be committed by the German government, and on the 21st of March the President called Congress in extraordinary session. Congress convened on the 2nd of April, 1917, and the President came before the houses that same evening and delivered the message which all the world read, a most admirable message and a very powerful statement of the American case. Four days later Congress passed the war resolution declaring that a state of war existed with Germany, and it was at once signed by the President.

HOW HAY INJURED THE COUNTRY—GARRISON'S RESIGNATION

AS I have been to a certain extent a participant in what has happened since that time, I may be permitted to call attention to the conditions we in Congress were obliged to meet and to what we have done.

It is to be remembered, in the first place, that we were practically wholly unprepared. There was a strong movement for preparation immediately after the war in Europe opened in 1914. At that time the President discountenanced the movement and referred to those who were urging preparation as nervous and excited. A year later he had changed his mind and he made, as you will recall, a tour through the country strongly urging preparation.

The Secretary of War had a plan for increasing the regular army, having what he termed a "continental army" as a reserve of 400,000 men, and also for making large expenditures for munitions. Unfortunately, the chairman of the House Military Committee, Mr. Hay of Virginia, who has since been made a judge, had held that position for many years, and had always resisted doing anything for the proper increase of the regular army. He, too, had a characteristic

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plan which really did nothing, and the President accepted Mr. Hay's plan. This resulted in the retirement of Mr. Garrison from the Cabinet. I think that I am speaking within bounds when I say that Mr. Hay by his policy did more injury to this country at a great crisis than any one man I have ever known of in either branch of Congress. Therefore, when war was declared two precious years had been wasted and practically nothing done in the way of preparation for the army. Even the regular army appropriation bill for this year had not been passed on March 4. It was one of the bills which had gone over.

The navy fared better. The chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs is Mr. Padgett of Tennessee; he has been for many years chairman of that committee, has a remarkable knowledge of everything connected with the Navy and is a very wise and liberal-minded man. Mr. Padgett in 1916 prepared a bill which had in it a good deal of legislation in addition to the appropriations, and in due course it came over to the Senate.

It so happened that I was one of the sub-committee of two to whom the bill was referred, and as the full committee adopted the bill without a change, and as the Senate subsequently adopted the committee bill without a change, I think I may say that Senator Swanson of Virginia, who, owing to the illness of Senator Tillman, was the acting chairman of the committee (and to whom the country owes a great debt), and I really framed the Senate amendments, two hundred and fifty in number. I mention this merely because I am trying to show what happened to the navy and what a benefit even this one year of preparation proved to be.

SWEEPING NAVAL PREPARATIONS

THE Naval Bill of 1916 was really a great legislative measure with incidental appropriations. We legislated for the Naval Reserve; we created the naval militia; we provided for taking over in time of war the revenue cutter service and the coast survey service. We revised the law in regard to the personnel of the Navy, regulating promo-

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tions, and a vast mass of other detail legislation, all making for the preparation of the Navy. We appropriated $313,000,000, covering the largest programme ever made in this country, and as large, I think, as has ever been made in almost any country for a single year, and it seemed at that moment a very large amount. Today it seems very moderate.

That bill passed in August, 1916. In the winter we passed another naval bill with comparatively little legislation in it, for not much was needed, but we increased the appropriations. We gave the President $150,000,000 for the purchase of submarine chasers and patrol boats and to expedite the building of vessels already contracted for, and we made further large authorizations. This bill appropriated over $500,000,000 It was the 3rd of March when that bill became law, only a month before war was declared. The other bill was passed less than a year before. Yet the fact that even this amount of preparation had been made has been of inestimable value. And if you will pause a moment to think you will recall how little has been said about preparation in the Navy since the war began and comparatively little money voted—I say comparatively—a good many hundred millions have been added, but comparatively it has been little. The Navy was able to move at once. Before April, 1917, had expired we had destroyers on the coast of Ireland, and we have been adding to them steadily, until now we have a very formidable fleet of that character on the other side of the water.

There has been a great deal done in Congress in addition to this. Great powers have been granted to the President, necessary powers, as I think, wisely granted, as I hope.

The part of the work with which I came in closest contact was that which fell upon Congress, the work which Congress was called upon to do and which could be done only by Congress. Congress has its defects; nobody is more aware of that than I; but sometimes it is without reason made a pack-horse for every fault that can be found or imagined. The newspapers steadily charged Congress with intolerable delay and that we were wasting time in discussions. The

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best answer to this charge is to state what Congress actually has accomplished. I might say in addition that Mr. Balfour and the heads of other missions who were here spoke not only in praise, but with wonder at the amount that was accomplished in Congress, and the newspapers, I think in getting impatient of debate, hardly stopped to consider that we could not pass and ought not to have passed without discussion bills which entirely revolutionized what we are pleased to call our constitutional privileges and rights, and that it was inevitable and proper that there should be some discussion about them. Delays, grievous delays, there have been, but not in the legislative branch of the Government.

WHAT CONGRESS HAS ACCOMPLISHED

NOW as to this question of Congressional delay. This is what the Congress has actually done since the declaration of war on the 6th day of April, 1917. We first passed a general deficiency appropriation act appropriating $163,000,000, of which $100,000,000 was for national security and defense and for each and every purpose connected with the war.

We passed an act authorizing the issue of bonds to meet measures for national security. This act appropriated $3,000,000,000 for establishing credits for foreign governments and $2,000,000,000 to meet domestic expenditures, and a certain additional amount to consolidate and take up some small outstanding loans. We passed an act giving an additional midshipman to each Senator and each Congressional district. We passed the regular appropriation act carrying $223,000,000 for the support of the army for the regular fiscal year. We passed an act authorizing the President to increase temporarily the military establishment of the United States—this was the act which authorized the selective draft of a million men—and there was a great deal of subsidiary legislation connected with it. Members will recall that it took England and Canada some three years to pass conscription acts.

We passed a resolution authorizing the President to take over for the United States shipping owned in whole or in part

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by any corporation, citizen or subject of any nation with which the United States may be at war. This covered the German vessels, something over 500,000 tons. They are now all in the service, practically, and serving as transports for our troops.

We passed an act to increase the commission and warrant an enlisted strength of the Navy from 87,000 to 150,000 men and of the Marine Corps from 17,000 to 30,000. We passed the regular act making appropriations for the Military Academy. We passed an act amending the War Risk Insurance Act; and then the regular act appropriating $147,000,000 for the sundry civil expenses. We passed the deficiency bill appropriating $3,281,000,000 for the military and naval establishments, and this act appropriated, among other things, $405,000,000 for an emergency shipping fund. We passed an act to punish acts of interference with foreign relations, known as the Espionage Bill. It contained really twelve different bills which had been introduced on these subjects, consolidated into one measure. We passed an act—I am leaving out many small ones—appropriating $640,000,000 to increase temporarily the Signal Corps of the army and to purchase, manufacture, maintain, prepare and operate airships; and also an act in connection with it authorizing the United States to take possession of a site for a permanent aviation station.

We passed the River and Harbor Bill, carrying $27,000,000, which looks very moderate at this time. We passed an act enlarging the Interstate Commerce Commission. An act appropriating $11,346,400 to stimulate food production. An act known as the Food and Fuel Act, appropriating $162,500,000 for the conservation of food products and fuel.

WAR BOND ISSUES AND OTHER ACTS

AN act to authorize an additional issue of war bonds; a second bond issue under which the second loan was made. That act made an additional appropriation of $4,000,000,000 to extend credit in the United States to our Allies and

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for the expenses incident to the preparation and issue of bonds and certificates; and it authorized an additional issue of $3,000,000,000 of bonds to meet the loans to foreign governments (that covers the $3,000,000,000 of the first act) and an additional issue of one-year certificates of indebtedness beyond the $2,000,000,000 and an issue of five-year war-saving certificates, making $5,000,000,000, carrying all together $7,000,000,000 of new loans up to the third issue.

We passed an act appropriating $5,650,000,000 to supply deficiencies in the appropriation for the fiscal year 1918. This is the largest appropriation act ever passed by this or any other country. We passed an act to define, regulate and punish trading with the enemy, and for other purposes, which appropriates $450,000. That is the "Trading With the Enemy Act," a very important act. We passed an act to provide revenues to defray war expenses and for other purposes. This provides approximately $2,500,000,000 of revenue to defray the expense of Government. That is the Tax Bill, of which I shall say a word presently. We passed an act to provide a military and naval family allowance, compensation and insurance fund, known as the Soldiers' Insurance Act.

We passed an act authorizing the Shipping Board to license the use of vessels of foreign registry and construction for the coastwise trade for the period of the war, and one hundred and twenty days thereafter. Some of the important legislation enacted by Congress in 1918 includes the Civil Rights Bill; increasing midshipmen at the Naval Academy; the Post Office Appropriation Bill; continuing the President's one hundred million dollar appropriation; the bill to call the Philippine forces into the service; the bill to amend the Espionage Act to punish persons obstructing Liberty Loan issues and recruiting; the Agriculture Appropriation Bill; the bill to appoint additional Secretaries of War; the bill to extend the provisions of the Espionage Act to include women alien enemies and to provide for internment; the Railroads' Control Bill; the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Appropriation Bill; the ordnance testing in the Navy, appropriating

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a million dollars for this purpose; the bill authorizing the third Liberty Loan issue; the bill creating military zones around shipyards; the War Finance Corporation Bill; the bill appointing three Assistant Secretaries of War, and many other smaller bills of significant value to the war policies of the Nation.

THE BILL THAT CAUSED THE GREATEST DIFFICULTY

THE bill which caused the greatest difficulty and consumed the most time was the revenue bill. Bills to spend money and bills to borrow money reaching into the billions passed in a few days, and sometimes in a few hours. There was no opposition to either spending or borrowing in Congress or in the country so far as we could see. But when it came to imposing taxes the scene changed and cheerfulness and unanimity disappeared.

The bill came over from the House on the 25th of May, 1917, and the Committee on Finance, of which I happened to be a member, had that bill for over two months in committee, meeting every day for six or seven hours a day, literally every day. We then had three weeks of debate in the Senate, where there were differences of opinion which had not appeared before on the bond bills and the appropriation bills, and it then went to conference, where it remained for nearly three weeks, and which was the most disagreeable part of the whole business. The House appeared to be obstinate; the Senate, of course, was firm. The result was a great deal of debate, which filled whole days for three weeks, including Sundays. The result is that we imposed upon this country for the fiscal year 1917, including the taxes already imposed by existing law, between $3,800,000,000 and $4,000,000,000, a larger sum to take from a people in taxation than has ever been attempted by any nation in the world.

I was one of those who thought that we went too far, that we went beyond the line of safety in the taxation of profits and of incomes; and I am afraid we have done so, but we had great difficulty in holding the rates at the figures established by the committee.

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To give an idea of what these taxes amount to, the percentage of expenditures to be raised by direct taxation was 36.02 per cent. The highest proportion of taxes to loans in providing for expenditures in time of war was in the last year of our Civil War, when we raised as much as 30 per cent. of the expenditures by taxation.

We are now raising 36.02 per cent., and the percentage to be met by Government obligations is 63.98 per cent. The percentage raised by direct taxation by other countries involved in the present war, was after three years of war:

	Per Cent.
England	26.00
France	14.12
Germany	14⅞
Canada	8.00

It is, of course, sound finance to take a large proportion of the expenditures from taxation, but this principle can easily be carried too far; can, in fact, be made ruinous. And what a strong element in Congress were disposed to overlook was the fact that it was essential to our financial stability and success to keep business as productive and active as possible. For that purpose you must have a certain surplus, so that business can extend and maintain itself. You also must look to that same surplus for all your loans. There was nothing else to do, nowhere also to go for money.

It required a great effort and a strong contest in the Senate to defeat a proposition to put a tax of 76 per cent. flat on all profits, war profits and peace profits alike, so we have not been as excessive as some people desired, because there were members of both House and Senate who thought this was an excellent time to seize upon "criminal wealth."

Men, munitions and money are the essential things. We have the money; the munitions are beginning to come in. I will give one example which will give an idea of what lack of preparation means. The departments came in on the 2nd day of July, 1917, and furnished us their estimates for the com-

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ing year, $5,563,000,000, and we passed our original revenue bill, which was confined to war profits, on those figures. Twenty days later the heads of departments came in with additional estimates for appropriations reaching nearly six billions. When the last appropriation bill had passed, between the time that it came to the Senate and while the Senate Committee had it under consideration for a report, they brought in $700,000,000 additional estimate.

One item let me speak of as an illustration.

We had been told in past years that we were well off in field artillery. They came before us—General Crozier, the head of the Ordnance Department, and others—when these great estimates came in, additional estimates, and informed us that for an army of a million men we needed 16,000 pieces of field artillery, the bulk of them 3s, which correspond to the French 75s; but all kinds, including mortars up to as heavy as 9-inch guns, which would take a year to make. We actually had 600 pieces of field artillery, only enough to train our troops here, and when war was declared, no shells to speak of.

Of course this lack of preparedness has increased the expenditure enormously because everything has to be done in such haste and in the most expensive way, but still slowly, with much stumbling and confusion, it is being done.

THERE MUST BE NO PEACE ON THE STATUS QUO ANTE BELLUM

BEFORE concluding, one word about the situation as it appears to us in Washington. It is the intention of the President and the administration at this time, I know, to carry this war through, and that is the intention of the overwhelming majority in Congress, the settled purpose of many who were very reluctant to go to war, as well as of many who thought we ought to have gone to war long before the time when we did.

The Government, Congress and President mean to carry the war through. Yet, we see the newspapers filled with talk about peace, which all comes directly or indirectly from

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the enemy; it either emanates from Germany or is accidentally very like what the Germans are suggesting. We have had a note from the Pope, we have had resolutions in Congress, and we have had a great deal of general irresponsible talk about peace. This talk all proceeds with slight variations on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*. To my mind—and I know this is the view of the administration—every man, the President who delivered the war message and Congress who voted for war, would be guilty of the blackest crimes if they were willing to make a peace on the *status quo ante bellum* and recreate the situation which existed before the war. If we send our armies and our young men abroad to be killed and wounded in Northern France and in Flanders with no result but this, our entrance into war with such an intention was a crime which nothing can justify. The intent of Congress and the intent of the President was that there could be no peace until we could create a situation where no such war as this could recur. To make peace on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum* simply means that Germany will have a breathing space and the whole horror will come over again, with the chance that we shall not be all united as we are now. We must have peace with victory, complete victory; no other will stand or be worth having.

The President in his letter to the Pope stated what is the absolute truth—that we have no one now we can negotiate with. We cannot negotiate with a government which has declared that treaties are scraps of paper, to be torn up when it feels like it. We cannot make peace in the ordinary way. We cannot, in the first place, make peace except in company with our Allies. There may be no written conventions or treaties, but it would brand us with everlasting dishonor and bring ruin to us also if we undertook to make a separate peace. Therefore, there is only one alternative, and that is to bring Germany to her knees and force upon her a peace which we shall dictate and which will make the world safe—not merely safe for democracy, but safe for all the Allied free countries to pursue their own way in security and work out their own salvation.

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If we had not gone into this war and Germany had won it we should have been compelled to fight alone. We must win the war; we shall win this war. Of the final result I have no sort of doubt. But the feeling in Congress—I mean of the great majority of both houses—is that the discussion of of any peace at all or any argument for peace is little short of hostility to the United States and is distinctly helpful to Germany. I am sure that such is the feeling of the administration—as sure as I can be of anything which has been directly told me. This is the situation in which the country stands today; this is the legislation which Congress has passed.

SEA HAZE

By LEONIE DAVIS COLLISTER

LAST night a soft gray haze
Came inward from the sea,
And laid its folds against my cheek
And soothed the soul of me.

It shut out all the weariness,
And all the scorch of day,
And with soft fingers on my heart
It brushed the hurt away.

When I shall die, I hope the song
I have so longed to sing
Will mix and mingle with the sea,
And thus go murmuring

Through centuries of soft gray nights,
And through the storm and rain,
If it but reach one waiting ear,
But calm one soul in pain.

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THE WAR MARRIAGE AND ITS PURPOSE

By REV. PERCY STICKNEY GRANT

There is a sex revolution in the war atmosphere. It is the reaction of woman on man's hours of social relations. How will the ideals—and the race—be preserved, to advantage, is one of the big war problems.

THE stimulation which war has given matrimony, like the heroic treatment that in its history matrimony has received in many forms, is a new formula. In its ingredients it is something more vigorous than romance, something more inspiring than the fireside. Matrimony has assumed, in place of a rather sad solemnity, a new air of joyous adventure.

"War-marriage" is a perplexing theme; it presents so many questions bearing upon the future—a future we ourselves may not share, but is, nevertheless, our responsibility. The future is no longer in the leading-strings of tradition. If you doubt that, look steadily, unflinchingly, fearlessly, into the defiant eyes of that future, that hopeful, upright, inspired master of the years to come—the young man of twenty-one. He has decided that death shall not conquer, that life is the gift he promises posterity. Already this new spirit in the United States has for 1917 produced fifty thousand more marriages than usual. Upon this tremendous fact we can hang the questions that present themselves.

What is the meaning of this enlistment in the service of the fireside now so largely attached to enlistment in the uniformed ranks?

Is it the golden thread of higher romance, or a lower yellow streak?

Is it for the good of the Nation, or for hubby's safety, or, worse still, for the advantage of widows' pensions?

These are crude differences of opinion that have been variously expressed and therefore demand our consideration.

The most flagrant injustice to the war marriage oc-

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curred when the United States first entered the war, when there was an official disapproval of war marriages on the ground that many of them were the subterfuges of young men to escape the draft. Nothing, in my opinion, could be further from the truth. No doubt, many engagements were brought to a happy climax by the war; many marriages that have been delayed for financial or family reasons were concluded in the uplift of patriotic expediency. The indecision of sentiment which often makes young people wait was stimulated by the heroism of the occasion.

THE WAR MARRIAGE DEEPENED THE HEART BEAT

THE war marriage in many instances compelled a deeper determination of hearts, facing perhaps eternal separation. There was nothing for these deferred love stories in the face of war but to close the chapter with perhaps hasty marriage. The message of war proved a conclusive test of sentiment. Both the girl and the boy saw that war efficiency was not only a case of the man behind the gun, but of the girl behind the man. It may have been her instinct which understood these unwritten beauties of the war marriage, and planted the bloom of a new love purpose. At any rate, it is certain that many of our soldiers, both officers and privates, have gone to the front with far more courage and determination on account of the girls they have left behind them as brides in their homes.

I am inclined to believe that these young women, whom we have regarded perhaps with a tolerant masculine superiority, have quietly, with the feminine wisdom that is indescribably subtle to ordinary man, crystallized the war marriage into a love marriage of greater significance than any other matrimonial adventure the world has ever known. I have heard young women say quite frankly that if the man they cared for must go to war; if he must take the chance of death on the battlefield, their own future could only become endurable in caring for his child. This frankness, this essential wisdom of matrimonial purpose and opportunity, is one of the new and fortunate awakenings which the war has given

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us. The credit for it belongs to the young women,—those young women who with their soft, pretty ways and their dainty sensibilities have suddenly become the wives of warriors. Their attitude towards the war marriage lifts the curtain that has so long hidden the vigorous side of woman's soul. In her relation to the war marriage she has revealed her place in the world.

THE WAR BABY THE SYMBOL OF LOVE

THERE is no divergence from the main strength of her sentiment in the conclusion that her baby is the symbol of her love. Her intense desire to perpetuate, in human form, a memorial of the man she loves is one of the most vital and spiritual forces in human nature. Instead of being afraid, instead of accepting the highest relations of marriage timidly, she has at last understood her part in the rehabilitation of the world disaster. She has merely extended her perception of love. She has broken down the barriers of illusion with which tradition, not nature, has surrounded her. Her desire to perpetuate the race is not inspired by any coldly academic purpose; she perpetuates in her maternity the romance and the love of her girlhood. These war marriages have created almost superhuman friendships between the men and women who have made them.

Friendship is the supreme interpretation of love. Shakespeare, in the Sonnets, addressed to his friend, the Earl of Pembroke, implored an understanding of this sentiment, that demands perpetuation of the thing beloved:

> "but, love, you are
> No longer yours, than you yourself here live;
> Against this coming end you should be prepared,
> And your sweet semblance to some other give."

The cry of friendship for earthly immortality is the maternal note in the war marriage. It is a natural and inextinguishable call which these young people have heard in the world's battle cry. The young men (less so perhaps than the young women) have realized that out of the human wreckage

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into which war has plunged the race, life must persist, and above all, love must survive.

In Barrie's one-act play, "The New Word," the English father, having suffered the disillusion of his own middle-age value to the war, is at great pains to inform his son of his own resignation as the head of the family. With impressive charm he bestowed the safety and honor of the family into his son's hand. That is the position today of father and son in America—the reverse of what it was before the war. The youth of today is master of the fate of tomorrow, and has every right to put his house in order, to christen the new generation which he leaves behind.

We must consider the war marriage apart from its local condition. It is not only the new mood of love, the highest progress in the romance of the sexes. It is a part of the general clearing of the modern atmosphere toward the subject of sex condition. Sex education is a new thing, struggling for public recognition. But its advocates, mostly women, have already begun its work in the nursery, in some private schools, in some churches. We are now watching the first generation, to demand and to receive, even in a small degree, that frank education in the significance of sex that has been so honestly but beautifully devised by the mothers of today for the protection of their children.

THE NEW ATTITUDE OF PARENTS TOWARD SEX EDUCATION

THERE has sprung up a new relation between parents and children in the present generation—honest, noble, protective. For many reasons it will be a profound incentive for earlier marriages. It sweeps aside the old traditions of ignorance, coarseness, license, diseases, disgust, deterioration. This wise fellowship of parents and children in the home will bring about a purified knowledge. By its sacred covenants of mutual understanding and expectation children can pass through the period of their teens, whether at work, in society, or at the college, with an untarnished nobility of mind and with clean bodies. Marriage will not be so dangerously and aimlessly delayed as in the past; nor will it be

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so casual or so calculated in terms merely of social advantage.

Pure romanticism, which has been nourished on old mysteries and blind ignorance, will give place to more straightforward and practical value in matrimony. These new elements of the war marriage will hasten rather than indefinitely postpone the vital decision of love.

It requires no speculation to realize what is in the heart of a war bride. Aside from her considerations of love for her husband, she is undoubtedly haunted by the universal question before the world. The question comes to mind as we read of the destruction of men in hundreds of thousands.

Where are the husbands of the future to come from after the ten millions of dead youth destroyed on European battlefields?

A distinguished Frenchman one night at dinner, behind his hand, said to me: "Think of half a million of our young men gone! Where are we to find husbands for our daughters?" And this was in the first years of the war.

These love marriages of the war are bright places upon the tragic background—the new numerical inequality of the sexes. Every war marriage is a part of a much greater story than that of a single war bride. It reminds us that millions of girls, because of this war, can never marry. The war bride marries her soldier with a new sense of dignity, as of rare selection, with a finer responsibility, with the same courage in fate with which her husband has been anointed in his enlistment into the service of his country. In America especially our young people seemed to have grasped this great purpose. He is to win freedom and peace for the world; she is to give it life.

ALL MATERNITY IS BECOMING SACRED

OVER here, through letters and in our talks with those who come to us from the other side, we learn that the governments of Europe are aiding and abetting the increase of population outside the restrictions of matrimony. In the European war countries under patriotic approval all maternity is becoming sacred. There is a new sort of birth—

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encouraged and condoned illegitimacy. In Germany, before the war, the census showed 180,000 illegitimate children born every year. Recently I have seen the figures placed at 200,000. Before the war Europe was far from a settled and a sure policy in regard to the most fundamental of all questions. The war has given more definite query as to the essentials of parenthood.

In discussing the war marriage, out of which will arise a new adjustment of this all-powerful sentiment—this effort to make the relationship of the sexes as beautiful as love itself—one cannot help thinking of the struggle which the human race has been making to adorn their relationship of sex with divine understanding.

The Orient, through its long centuries, elaborated institutions which made sex provision. The Hebrew race, to which Christendom is so closely allied, made its life centre around the family. It exalted and undertook to provide for that family. Its tribes were big families.

In the war marriage we see something of the same sort; we are going back to this Hebrew regard for the family as the central force of life, even to the extent, in my opinion, of educating young men and women in such a fashion as to make them qualified creators and accomplished administrators of family life.

Europe, unfortunately, has never really settled sex questions one way or the other. Greece had an arrangement which tended to separate female companionship of the highest purpose from domestic companionship. Rome had its divorce. Both had slavery. Christianity insisted upon the denunciation of sex, upon asceticism; it founded monasteries, convents and worship of the Virgin. Ecclesiastical impediments in the way of divorce perpetuate this hostile attitude.

In the middle ages there were two adjustments, one a marriage to perpetuate family name and property; one a romantic knighthood to serve the sentimental ideal. Our modern times have exalted monogamy. In an industrial epoch, when the younger members of our industrial army were never so lacking in independence, marriage is more and more

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impossible. In the United States in 1910 there were over 21,000,000 unmarried persons of marriageable age. In Germany, with a smaller population than ours, I have recently seen it stated that there are 11,000,000 unmarried persons of marriageable age. This is a social calamity, which in our conceit of Occidental superiority does us little credit.

WILL THE WAR MARRIAGE ABOLISH HARSH RESTRICTIONS?

THE war marriage may therefore be interpreted as one exhibition of a tremendous movement to abolish these harsh religious and civil conditions that surround matrimony,—a movement, let us notice, chiefly due to the sentiment of the women. Much help in this problem is to be expected from the woman's movement, which, in the first place, is a cry for greater industrial influence and independence, and which demands greater flexibility in matters which concern marriage.

If, however, men really wish to know what women are thinking about, let them read Ellen Key, the distinguished Swedish writer, or Grete Maisel-Hess, who, I believe, is a woman physician in Vienna. If the tendency of woman's thought on matrimony is faithfully disclosed by these two leaders of their sex, then it foretells an emancipation which the war marriage faintly foreshadows.

In discussing war marriage, or in discussing marriage in normal times, we may have to prepare our minds for the problem which women themselves are revolving. Thousands of unmarried women are in their hearts demanding that maternity, on some basis agreeable to their souls and not injurious to the State, should be socially permissible. The war marriage and its compulsion toward the maintenance of the human race may hint at a social new order out of the disorder of love and war.

I have attempted to suggest in this brief article that the impulse of a war marriage fulfills the highest purpose of love. The thread is a golden thread and well may serve as a bright clue to the happy liberation of future men and women.

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THE WAR LOYALTY OF WISCONSIN

By IRVINE L. LENROOT
[UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM WISCONSIN]

An Interview with the Forum

Wisconsin has been called the 58 per cent American State. Senator Lenroot takes issue with this idea, in the first authoritative statement, since his whirlwind campaign against the democratic candidate, who is said to have been the President's choice.

I AM by no means impressed with the necessity of defending the loyalty of the State of Wisconsin to the National principles of this great war in which we are involved. It would be a misrepresentation of the facts, which the Administration of Wisconsin in its official records has placed on file where the present and future citizens of that State can read the loyalty therein written.

We should always distinguish between the man who is actually disloyal and is deliberately poisoning the minds of people against America, and the man who has been deceived by the Pro-German press and the misrepresentations of others.

The first should be prosecuted criminally and punished to the full extent of the law. The second should be set right as to the facts concerning the righteousness and justice of this war, in other words, or should by education make of him a loyal American.

It is of course, true that we have had in the state of Wisconsin disloyalty of opinion as to the conduct of the war. It is also true that from a certain part of our German-born population there has come a definite protest of the war policies of the Nation. The obstinacy with which some of the German-born citizens of Wisconsin, as well as of other northwestern states, have retained their inherited traditions of sympathy with Germany has been one of the humiliations of my state. But we must recognize that tradition, like the hair on a dog, sticks. In my own campaign I have talked to them

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with very definite statements as to their civic duties to our country. I have not treated them as enemies. I have not talked to these German citizens of my State as though they should be hauled before a firing squad because they were of German birth. The arbitrary policies which the Government in its administrative capacity must adopt, can differ from the expediency that may be appropriate in local State organization. It is my experience that more can be done in control of disaffected feeling by education than by denunciation.

THE "BAD SPOTS" IN WISCONSIN

DURING my campaign the problematic issue concerned the "bad spots" in the State of Wisconsin. Public sentiment and Government pressure in a great measure threatened the safety and the private interests of the German citizens. There had been cases where neighorhood protests were made resulting in a ceremony of American skill adorned with tar and feathers. The courts usually ignored these unpleasant incidents of protest made by loyal citizens, because they were perhaps more in keeping with the Western spirit of warning, a sort of punishment intended to serve as a scolding with the hope that such methods would induce the victims to be good. Cases of this sort, however, were comparatively few, and the actual violence committed by German citizens in the State of Wisconsin has been nil. The cause of unrest is neither political, or, in its actual basic principle, disloyal,—but it must be stopped. It is rather a natural condition, because there has been no interference prior to our entrance into this war, with the private sentiments of foreign-born citizens in this country. The ideal freedom with which their citizenship has been vested by the constitution, prior to the war, did not foresee the eventuality of war.

It is, however, a cause of humiliation and profound regret that socialist, pacifist, and other theoretical objectors to the sentiment of the war, should be permitted to inspire their doctrines in many counties of the State of Wisconsin. It is humilitating to find that such men as Berger, a socialist candidate, can receive a vote in my State of 109,000. It is the

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desire and the energetic purpose of the people of Wisconsin as a whole to perceptibly reduce this total by the next election.

It is not my wish, however, to see a military interference with the state rights of foreign-born citizens. I should energetically defend them from the proposed court martial, from the military firing squad. There is behind such a proposition not merely the inherent objection of American liberty to the execution of civilians through military law, but there is the hatred among their friends, their supporters, and their associates which such an act would breed. Military execution without direct order by the courts, of the people, would be entirely misunderstood. It will be almost impossible to explain to them, and I do believe that the great majority of foreign-born citizens, in my own State for instance, can be educated, informed by suitable propaganda and by the paternal influence of our Government. I spoke freely and frankly to large audiences of foreign-born citizens, of pro-Germans, and where other candidates had been threatened by anonymous communications, I received only one threatening letter during my entire campaign, and that was from outside the State. The disloyalty in Wisconsin is largely due to an ignorance of the high ideals for which the United States entered the war. And it must be remembered that there are a great many extremely loyal German residents of Wisconsin.

WHY GERMAN-BORN CITIZENS RESENT MILITARY JUSTICE

THE importance of this assumption under which the State of Wisconsin has been accused in some quarters of disloyalty grows out of the fact that in the entire two million and a half of its population only one million and a half are native born. It has been assumed that these are universally pro-German, but this is not true. I believe there are 240,000 German-born citizens of both sexes in the State of Wisconsin. It is difficult to explain to them, because they were born in Germany, and because they are on American soil, obeying the laws of their citizenship up to the moment of our declaration of war, that they must be subject to court-martial proceedings. It is difficult to convince them that the liberty which

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they have enjoyed under the franchise of their citizenship should be placed in jeopardy by military order. Such a plan infers that our courts cannot be trusted to enforce the laws of the country. This is a menace to the very structure of our National life. Any disloyalty in whole or in part to the purposes of the United States in this war is seditious.

The war has changed not only Wisconsin, but many other Western States, from methods of former political campaigns to elections that have been inspired wholly by the character and sentiment of the war. It must be remembered that in November of 1914 the President insisted on neutrality, encouraged the utmost freedom of sentiment towards the warring nations. The German-born residents of the Western States, as those of Wisconsin, whose sympathies were with Germany, assumed that they were permitted to enjoy full freedom of opinion. They were not denied their private sympathies. Suddenly, in April, 1917, they were informed that they must change their views, and lamentably, it must be said, many refused to. The Government, no less than the entire people of the United States, demanded that they should do so; they objected, and there you have the unpleasant side of Wisconsin, the pro-German side. By secret meetings, by propaganda, the pro-German feeling has been sustained. The fact that this opposition to the principles of war has been confined almost exclusively to certain sections only of the State of Wisconsin has enabled the administration of that State to register a loyalty which, upon analysis, is surprising, because Wisconsin, due largely to the principles expressed by some of its eminent men, has been rated as disloyal. A brief analysis of the pro-German and Socialist vote will illustrate the bad spots in Wisconsin.

NO GROUNDS FOR ASSUMING WISCONSIN DISLOYAL

IN Brown County, for instance, the Socialist vote in 1916 was 271, against 1,063 in 1917. In Buffalo County it was 123 in 1916 against 990 in 1917. In Calumet County in 1916 there was only a small vote of 48, as against 2,738 in 1917, and this in a population of 17,000, mostly Germans.

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In Chippewa County, with a population of 6,000 in 1916, the vote was 52, against 751 in 1917. In Clark County 118 in 1916 against 1,342 in 1917. In Dodge County the Socialists showed 179 votes in 1916 to a total of 3,526 at this election. It was greater than the Republican or Democratic vote. In Jefferson County the vote was 1,683 in 1918 against 71 in 1916. In Manitowoc the vote was 3,721 against 425. In Milwaukee the vote was 34,312 against 20,749. In Sheboygan the vote was 5,363 against 911. In Ozaukee the vote was 1,550 against 46. In Washington the vote was 2,614 against 59.

These are sufficient to show that there was an approximate gain by the Socialists or the pro-German votes in Wisconsin in the ten counties, which represents about one-third of the total voting strength of the State.

This election has been the means by which we have found out where the charges of disloyalty in Wisconsin can be placed. If Senator LaFollette had sooner turned the weight of his influence in his State to urging his constituents to support the National policies of war he would have materially reduced any pro-German or Socialist feeling in Wisconsin.

There is no danger that the people in the State of Wisconsin will permit any record of disloyalty to remain on the pages of its State record. There is no doubt that they will, and they have, materially altered the pro-German sentiment by judicious appeal to it. There have been no strikes in the State of Wisconsin since the declaration of war. There has been no evidence of organized violence to property in the State. There have been Socialist and pro-German meetings, and there have been occasional outbursts of pacifism.

Since there seems to be no ground for assuming that the State of Wisconsin, as a State, is disloyal to the policies of the National Government at war, I believe that it is a matter of a very short time when pro-German sentiment disappears entirely, when the foreign-born citizen will see the light of our war policies, and follow it. How far this has already developed in a State where nearly one half the population is foreign-born belongs to the record I desire to present of the

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actual loyalty which the State of Wisconsin has shown. I will name them in detail.

RECORDS OF WAR LOYALTY

1. Wisconsin was first in the Union to organize a State Council of Defense. The suggestion for the legislature for the National Council of Defense came from Wisconsin, and our own Council of Defense developed from the same suggestion.

2. Wisconsin was the first State to pass legislation providing aid for soldiers' dependents. A number of States have passed similar laws, none of which are as liberal as the Wisconsin law.

3. Wisconsin was one of the first States to pass legislation exempting a man in the naval or military service from civil process.

4. Wisconsin suggested to Washington authorities the use of election machinery for registration of men subject to draft. Wisconsin is the only State that has passed a law offering without cost to the National Government the election machinery of the State for the purpose of registering men for military service. The expense is borne by local committees as election expenses are borne. The election machinery of the State was under this law on June 5, 1917, and will be used again for the registration of the men who became 21 during the past year.

5. Wisconsin was first State in Union to file in Washington its complete report of registration. Wisconsin filed this report four hours earlier than the District of Columbia. Wisconsin's administration of the draft law is called "splendid" by Provost Marshal General Crowder. In a telegram dated June 28, 1917, General Crowder says: "I have come to expect the impossible of Wisconsin."

6. Wisconsin registered 104.6 of the estimated number as based on population. The State of Washington registered but 50.9.

7. Wisconsin's percentage of men of military age failing to respond to the draft was less than 2%. The percentage

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in the United States failing to respond to the draft was 8.2%.

8. Wisconsin by volunteer enlistment filled the ranks of the National Guard to full war strength of approximately 19,217 men.

9. Wisconsin sent her National Guard south to Camp McArthur fully equipped, at State's expense. Every soldier wore a khaki uniform, all had received shoes, campaign hats, leggings, woolen shirts, blankets, etc. Every man had a modern gun; his own mess kit and every company had its own mess outfit; its tents and so forth. In the equipping of her soldier boys and in other present war work Wisconsin has expended over seven hundred thousand dollars.

10. A comparative table of volunteer enlistments in States surrounding Wisconsin, as well as several Southern States, is as follows:

Wisconsin's	volunteer	enlistments	was....	54.16	per	cent.
Iowa's	"	"	"	49.76	"	"
Ohio's	"	"	"	41.49	"	"
Indiana's	"	"	"	41.40	"	"
Illinois'	"	"	"	34.52	"	"
Minnesota's	"	"	"	31.51	"	"
Georgia's	"	"	"	32.43	"	"
North Dakota's	"	"	"	31.69	"	"
Michigan's	"	"	"	30.88	"	"
Louisiana's	"	"	"	26.33	"	"
Oklahoma's	"	"	"	21.78	"	"

In a report rendered by the War Department Wisconsin ranks eleventh among all the States, territories and districts of the Union upon basis of percentage of volunteer enlistment, being exceeded only by Hawaii, Wyoming, Oregon, District of Columbia, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Kansas and South Dakota.

11. The Chicago *Tribune* recently published an article in which it was stated that the State of Wisconsin was one of eight States that had failed to fill its quota of allotment to the Regular Army. In this statement no credit was given to Wisconsin volunteers in National Guard, Marine Corps, or any of the other special units.

The total credit of volunteer enlistments acknowledged to be due the State of Wisconsin is 23,550; add to this number

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7,500 known to have enlisted in special units and we have a volunteer enlistment from this State of 31,060.

Wisconsin's net quota of men heretofore allotted to be furnished under the draft was 12,876. Wisconsin has actually furnished 14,690.

The average percentage of credits for volunteer enlistments in the United States as a whole was 40.42. Wisconsin's percentage was 54.16.

12. Wisconsin has a higher percentage for volunteer enlistments than the following Northern States: Pennsylvania, Ohio, Connecticut, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, Illinois, Michigan and North Dakota.

13. Wisconsin has more boys on the fighting front in Europe than any other State in the Union, with the possible exception of Massachusetts. One of every twenty men in France today is a Wisconsin boy.

14. Wisconsin subscribed to the First Liberty Loan $36,236,750. To the Second Liberty Loan Wisconsin subscribed $87,056,900. The forty-five counties in the Chicago Federal Reserve District subscribed 155% of its minimum allotment. The subscription of the States comprising this district is as follows:

Wisconsin	155%
Illinois	152.8%
Michigan	142.5%
Indiana	122%
Iowa	11.47%

Kenosha County was the banner county with a subscription of 222.8%. Milwaukee County subscribed 131%.

15. Wisconsin has subscribed to

Red Cross,	approximately	$1,000,000
Y. M. C. A.,	"	1,015,000
Y. W. C. A.,	"	69,000
K. of C.,	"	125,000
Through Rotary Clubs,	"	50,000
Other organizations,	"	100,000

Or Wisconsin has raised by subscription for war activities approximately $126,000,000, including first and second Liberty Loans.

I insist that the war loyalty of Wisconsin is established.

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BOLSHEVISM IN AMERICA

The Thing That Disrupted Russia and Has Been Seized Upon by Disloyalists in America

By LEWIS ALLEN BROWNE

BOLSHEVISM in America is an excrescence of the political melting pot—the social refuse, or slag, that will not fuse—the impure or foreign substance in our population that would otherwise Americanize.

It came from over the seas with other of our National organic ills; it is making a supreme effort to fasten itself upon our body politic and is, when summed up, no more or less than a vicious enemy within, attacking our democracy by acts of violence and irrational propaganda.

The word " Bolsheviki " originated in Russia. It means, " They who want the most." The followers really aimed to destroy the state and divide the spoils. As an American, long resident in Russia, expressed it, " The Bolsheviki are the ' gun-men ' of Petrograd."

Almost instantly, after the Russian Bolsheviki wrought chaos, the word was taken up over here, first by certain of the I. W. W., who believed that in it they had character behind which they could hide while seeking to achieve what seems to be an identical aim—the destruction of government and the division of the spoils.

So far as the most careful investigation can reveal there are no organizations, societies or groups included in what is known as the "American Bolsheviki " that stand for patriotism, as we define the word. American Bolshevism is the " ism " found in the tenets of the I. W. W., People's Council, Anti-Conscription League, League of Labor and Political Prisoners, National Non-Partisan League, anarchists, radical Socialists, German-hired pacifists and others of the league of irrational objectors.

Among the members of the various organizations that

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come under the general classification of American Bolsheviki are they who hiss the President's name, insult the Stars and Stripes, preach and practise sabotage, state publicly that any man who sends his son to fight in the American Army does it for a price, urge that our troops be withdrawn from France, urge evasion of the draft, plot to tie up our war labor, preach and attempt the destruction of ships, industrial plants, railroads, retard the agricultural interests, create strikes to secure "the most"—anything and everything to retard our progress in the war.

Germany bases her hopes, as clearly and boastfully outlined in her newspapers, on her "pincers,"—two arms, one of which consists of her army, and the other her propagandists in this country working as pacifists, I. W. W.'s, Socialists, spies, and the Bolsheviki.

BOLSHEVISM INTRODUCED IN NEW YORK

IN November last the I. W. W. cropped up in New York City under the guise of the "American Bolsheviki." A meeting was held in the Star Casino, at 107th Street, at which were present about five hundred I. W. W. members, various anarchist groups, representatives of a number of pro-German organizations, pacifists and all sorts of radical groups, scarcely a member of which could, under our present conditions, be described as a patriot.

"We are the American Bolsheviki," was frequently shouted. At this meeting it was explained that many of their "brothers," that is, fellow socialists, anarchists, pacifists, I. W. W. members and others, had been arrested. It was not explained that the charges against their arrested brothers and sisters included arson, destruction of crops, poisoning cattle, blowing up factories, possessing maps of military value to the enemy, and fomenting strikes. Nothing about this was said. These people declared that they had come to organize a "League of Labor and Political Prisoners," the purpose of which would be to provide bail and supply legal defense to their kind *arrested for the violation of American laws!*

In charge of this meeting of American Bolsheviki, as so

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many present were pleased to call themselves, was Frank Tannenbaum, an I. W. W. agitator who served a year in the penitentiary for leading raids on churches. On the stage with him were Elizabeth Stuyvesant, Elizabeth Freeman, Maud Malone and others, while circulating through the crowd were men and women selling tickets for a dance to be held two nights later for a " Bolshevist celebration." Others circulated petitions begging aid for the Bolshevist agitators in Russia. Still others sold documents containing articles written by Scott Nearing and L. P. Lochner, two leaders in the so-called " People's Council of America," which was agitating for just such a peace as Germany was eager to consider.

A yellow handbill handed about contained information concerning this American Bolsheviki group under the name of the League of Labor and Political Prisoners. In its list of members of the Advisory Committee was the name of Arturo Giovanitti, then under indictment in Chicago as one of the I. W. W. conspirators plotting to interfere with our prosecution of war against Germany; also the name of Leonard Abbott, an official of the Anti-Conscription League and prominent in the anarchist group that centered about Emma Goldman.

There was considerable information on the handbill about the need of helping the Bolsheviki in Russia. The opening sentence was:

> " The workers and radicals of Russia, through the Workman's and Soldiers' Council, have simultaneously called on their fellow-workmen throughout the world to help them stop the war *and proceed with the revolution.*"

This, very briefly, describes the nature of the first public Bolshevist meeting in New York, and probably the first in the country, after Trotzky and Lenine overthrew Kerensky and opened negotiations for a separate peace with Germany—at Germany's own terms!

And when they had their " Bolsheviki Celebration " two days later it was a weird affair, typical of the lack of order,

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decorum or anything else that goes to make up a safe and sane and worthy assembly, according to a *New York Times* account. "City's Bolsheviki Disown All Order. Mad Carousal Marks Celebration" was the headline announcement.

The article was printed December 3, 1917, and in effect stated that anarchists, socialists, I. W. W.'s, extreme radicals and others hailing themselves as the Bolsheviki of the City of New York:

> "——— jeered and hissed at the name of President Wilson; they denounced Governments, institutions and society. They hailed the approach of social revolution and the destruction of the existing order of things."

It was a demonstration of the American Bolsheviki in action. *The Times* reported that it wound up in a frenzy of dancing and music, with a long-haired Bolshevik "reeling through the ranks of whirling comrades with a bottle of whiskey in his hand. Holding the bottle aloft as he danced, he invited all to drink, and if none would drink with him he drank by himself, caressing the bottle as he did so, and wafting kisses."

Many orators were present and favored "death" to this and "death" to that. They wanted everything "Free, free, free!" Leonard Abbott of the anarchist group presided and was proud to acknowledge his kinship to the Bolsheviki of Russia. Hippolite Havel waved a copy of "The Revolt" and concentrated his efforts on President Wilson. When he spoke the President's name there were hisses. Said Havel:

> "He (Wilson) pushed us right into the war. Why did he? Because we must fight for democracy. And so today he is fighting mit the King of Siam for democracy."

Mr. Havel said that he was born in America but acquired his pronunciation while being educated in Austria.

Thus was American Bolshevism ushered into New York!

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IDENTICAL WITH THE I. W. W.'S IN THE WEST

THE movement is stronger in the West than in the East. The West is having more trouble with it. But Bolshevism in America, being so closely allied to the I. W. W. that if you prick one the other bleeds, and the I. W. W. being stronger and more destructive and more troublesome in the West, this is only natural.

American Bolshevism should not be mentioned in the same breath with our Organized Labor. Our recognized organized labor leaders will have nothing to do with it. From Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, down, they denounce it. Today the best element of Organized Labor is standing firmly on a patriotic platform, working to win the war.

Already in England and France have been heard rumors of a war against the United States Government from the rear —word has gone forth that an American Bolsheviki will defeat this country. All Germans here and pro-Germans (the patriotic of German birth are not included in this) are doing their utmost to help American Bolshevism. They seem to realize our danger from Bolshevism better in Europe than we do here at home.

The I. W. W., the Socialists, the anarchists, the pacifists and similar other unpatriotic societies are not fighting the war aims entirely upon their own and separate initiative. It is Potsdam that is making this drive, it is Prussian autocracy that is fostering American Bolshevism, as it fostered it in Russia, and as it inspires everything and anything that will deter us and help her, whether it be to make one simple-minded boy desert from the training camp or blow up a munition plant, whether it be a prayer-meeting preachment of pacifism in a church decorated with our national colors or an American Bolsheviki celebration where the name of the President is hissed.

THE HAND OF THE PRUSSIAN MILITARIST

"SINCE the 22nd of February," says William English Walling in the Sunday (N. Y.) *Times*, "the danger has ceased to be general and has become definite and con-

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crete. These revolutionists are becoming more aggressive and truculent, and the German intrigue which supports them is many times more intensive and many-sided than any German intrigue in the past."

Senator Poindexter of the state of Washington has already sounded a warning note in the United States Senate against American Bolshevism.

"The Bolsheviki of Russia and the I. W. W. are brothers of the militarism of Prussia," he declared. He strongly advocates trying the leaders for treason.

"Their very doctrine," he said, "leads to lawlessness, and when they are caught in the vengeance of the mob they cry out against it. The consequences of this lawlessness, if not suppressed, will be general disorder, cold, hunger and vice. In a word, it will mean a return to primeval bestiality. The greatest responsibility that rests on the government today as a vital and component part of the war we are waging against a doctrine of lawlessness and blood abroad is to put down with the strong hand of lawful authority the doctrine of unbridled force and lawlessness at home."

Words will not prevail against American Bolshevism. They who are of it will not listen to reason, for there is no reason in their aims. Appeals to patriotism will not affect them because there is no patriotism in their veins.

What Lenine was to Russia's downfall the American Bolsheviki would be to the United States. Lenine, it would seem, has been more German at heart than anything else. He was in Austria at the outbreak of the war. But he was not held. They knew his leanings, even then, to Bolshevism, especially did they know this in Germany, and they knew that Bolshevism and its spread through Russia would weaken its fighting force. So, through the direct intervention, it is said, of Count Berchtold, Lenine was released to go back to Russia and spread his Bolshevism, just as a rat with a flaming torch tied to him is sent scampering through a field of ripe grain to destroy it.

"We Russians are for the defeat of Russia," declared Lenine upon his release. Then he released, when in power,

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that Austrian officer socialist, Otto Bauer, who was a war prisoner in Siberia, and brought him to Petrograd, feted him and sent him back to Austria. Naturally Germany knew just what moves to make when the Russian Bolsheviki threw down their guns at the front, their hoes on the farms, their tools at the bench, and proceeded to dance with a delirium of mistaken freedom that ended with the coldest gray dawn that ever fell over any nation.

PATTERNED AFTER THE RUSSIAN BOLSHEVISM

AMERICAN Bolshevism is patterned exactly after that sort. The Bolsheviki in Russia demand that the people should immediately take possession of banks, industries and other great aggregations of capital; that they divide the capital and work no more. Of course, the crops would grow and harvest themselves, the mines would pour forth refined metals, the industries would turn out finished products—all without human effort, while Lenine and his Bolsheviki sat back in ease and idleness doing nothing except spend the money they had looted and divided.

Not long ago I heard a socialist who carried an I. W. W. membership card, addressing a group, say: "We must strike for a six-hour laboring day, then a four-hour day, then a two-hour day, with increased wages all the time, and then we will be strong enough to take everything and work no more."

That's Bolshevism, whether it is located in Petrograd or New York, Moscow or Chicago.

One sign of our awakening to this danger came from Chicago, where R. Goodwin Rhett, President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, warned the business men against this danger, saying:

"American Bolshevism is a menace to us equal to German militarism. The American Bolsheviki would turn us over to mob tyranny more cruel and destructive than ever before known."

The United States has not recognized the Russian Bolsheviki. There are many reasons why this cannot be done. Full recognition is impossible, because they have made fel-

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lowship impossible for any country of law, liberty and civil order. Lenine did not found anything, he merely destroyed. Trotzky has been much under suspicion. It is very generally believed, in Russia and elsewhere, that he is under German pay. Proofs have not been produced. But here is an analogy: There is a general belief that will not down that the I. W. W. or some of its leaders or branches receive funds from Germany. Absolute proofs have not been produced. But they have funds, they never seem to be out of funds, and especially in the West has much of the sabotage attributed to them been of that same order that German agents have performed here and are still attempting to perform.

ITS IDENTITY WITH THE I. W. W.

THE majority of those in America who come within the classification of American Bolsheviki are I. W. W. members. At gatherings openly announced to be of the American Bolsheviki the I. W. W. members are in the majority. And what the I. W. W. represents is representative of the works and aims of American Bolshevism. The I. W. W. publications contain pictures of a black cat with his back up. He is called their " Sabcat " or sabotage. One especially popular slogan reads:

BEWARE!
Good Pay or Bum Work.
I. W. W.
One Big Union.
We Never Forget.
SABOTAGE!

From Maine to Canada, and from the Michigan lumber camps to the orchards and fields of California, the work of our Bolsheviki has been going on. Nothing has been too mean or too small to do, nothing too great to undertake.

Whether it has been to drive a spike in a log that the circular saw at the mill would be wrecked, or to poison a herd of cattle, or burn a field of grain—it has been part of their methods to hamper the progress of the war.

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To shatter a sawmill saw delayed by so many hours the fabrication of lumber necessary to build ships.

To poison cattle and lessen the already too small supply and so give comfort and aid to Germany.

By burning fields of grain, or orchards, just so much flour and so much fruit is destroyed.

Perhaps German money is not financing their atrocities, but the miscreants couldn't work any better or more successfully or more faithfully for Germany if they were in Prussian pay.

American Bolshevism, under whatever guise you find it, has become so militant in the West that farmers must go armed, that sheriffs double and treble their posses, and that Washington has sent reinforcements to help—military, secret service and legal.

American Bolshevism is made of Germans, Austrians, Mexicans, East Indians and paid hirelings—Americans not worthy the name—Russians, fanatics and anarchists from everywhere, people from little provinces, Lithuanians, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Letts—all types, from thugs and the illiterate, to the erratic and erotic intellectuals.

German agents have reached, are still in touch with and continue to reach out to the American Bolsheviki. These agents of the Kaiser in America are intelligent and keen. They have funds and know what to do with them.

BOLSHEVIKI SABOTAGE

LAST August forty-eight organizations under the leadership of the I. W. W., all to be classed as American Bolsheviki, attempted a nation-wide revolution, to start on Oklahoma oil fields. The farmers were too quick on the trigger and scores were rounded up and held for trial. One of the things gathered in by Government prosecutors was a book on Sabotage by Walker C. Smith, distributed from I. W. W. publication headquarters in 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago. Here are extracts:

> "A bar of soap in the boiler of a railroad engine would keep the soldiers at home or else force them to march to the strike."

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This has reference to I. W. W. men who could get access to the locomotive that was to haul troops of state militia to the scene of a strike:

"If this is not possible there are water tanks where the tender must be filled with soap powder."

To the women active in this movement, especially women out at domestic service, the author felt it worth while to devote space to their instruction. Here are some lessons in sabotage laid down for them:

"Choke the family on soup into which red pepper has been spilled."

"Toughen the expensive steaks."

"Let the finest china fall and break."

"Serve salty sherbet at the bridge party."

"Spill a pot of hot tea on the model frock of the honor guest."

"Put too much starch in father's favorite soft shirt."

Other instructions in this book were given for various followers of American Bolshevism:

"A farmhand can make a mistake with his scythe or hoe, or sow bad seeds in the fields."

"A salesman can put a stain on garments and cause them to be sold as damaged."

"A tailor can spoil a suit of clothes or a piece of cloth."

"Cabinetmakers can deteriorate a piece of furniture without the boss noticing it at first sight."

There was an epigram in "Solidarity," one of the I. W. W. publications, which read:

"When the cat sits on the pick handle brass buttons go to pot."

Translated, this means that the sabotage cat should hold back from work in the mines, thus reducing the output of necessary metals.

Jim Rowan, head of the lumberjack's branch of the I. W. W., has been beaten and driven out of many a lumber camp, but his followers among the American Bolsheviki listen carefully to his words. The *New York Sunday Tribune*

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quotes the following as part of a letter Rowan sent from Seattle to Haywood, head of the I. W. W., last August:

> "Fellow Worker: The old bugaboo of 'patriotism' is being preached on all sides.
>
> "We have the good will of the German people here and we feel that they are in sympathy with our cause.
>
> "We do not call them Germans, however, but refer to them the same as others, the FELLOW WORKERS.
>
> "We are going to carry out our points if we have to stop every industry on the Pacific coast. We did not declare war and we have not consented to the workingman giving up his liberty and being drafted.

American Bolshevism runs pretty true to the form of the Russian brand in a great many ways, not omitting the handiwork of German agencies. Ernest Bohm, Secretary of the Central Federation Union, in New York, said:

"The Bolsheviki of America is a blow at the loyalty program of the American labor movement, and it must be stopped. If these Bolsheviki have their way they would have this country in the same condition as Russia, they would put the American Federation of Labor out of business. We must draw the line to find out who are loyal Americans and who are not, and then we can fight them better."

That there are some weak members of organized labor who are influenced by the Bolsheviki—who may be pro-German, or what is more likely, in sympathy with our enemies because of German blood—cannot be denied. Fred I. Kent, Director of the Division of Foreign Exchange, Federal Reserve Board, Washington, declared at a meeting of the Ohio Society of New York that "German influence and German money is trying to mislead our labor. The few who succumb to this influence are not at all representative of Organized Labor, but they are, unfortunately, fighting our country with all the effectiveness of a German army. To defeat our enemy at a minimum sacrifice we must first control the would-be little Kaisers who are today committing sabotage within our borders."

Samuel Gompers has branded American Bolshevism as

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poisonous German propaganda, and of Socialism he said: "There is no such thing as an American Socialist party. The American Socialist organization is merely a branch of the one in Germany—it is part of German propaganda. I have been changed from the most active pacifist in America to a good fighter, and as President of the American Federation of Labor I can state that labor will not meet in a peace movement until the war is over and labor parties of all countries can be represented."

BOLSHEVISM IN THE NORTHWEST

THE National Non-Partisan League, which has a membership of more than 100,000 in the Northwest, with the notorious A. C. Townley at its head, smacks strongly of Bolshevism. J. D. Bacon of Grand Forks, N. D., has written a most interesting and revealing booklet on "The Farmer and Townleyism." He says Townley is a radical socialist, so radical that, quoting from the organ of the Socialist party in North Dakota, the *Iconoclast,* of May, 1916; ". . . there is no adjective in the English language strong enough to apply to myself and my comrades for letting men of the Townley stripe denude us of our senses to the extent of allowing our organization to be used as a stepping stone to deceive and defraud our fellow men."

It costs $16 a year to belong to the National Non-Partisan League and at the end of 1917 the farmers were paying $1,600,000 yearly! Mr. Bacon, in his book, declares that the aims of this National Non-Partisan League, as laid down by what he dubs "Townleyism," is a "Vision of an American Bolsheviki!" He calls attention to an address made in Chicago by William C. Sheppard, a capable writer of the United Press Association, who has been at the front since the outbreak of the war, in which Mr. Sheppard said:

> "Bolshevism is trying to poison and weaken the military strength of the United States just as it did in Russia. To an American conversant with the situation in Russia, and familiar with the methods and tactics of the Bolsheviki and their German conspirators, the situation developing in America, especially in the Mid-

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dle West, under the very noses of the most patriotic elements among our citizens, is a most appalling one."

If Townley is a patriotic American, then he will have to explain his address at Devil's Lake, North Dakota, on Registration Day, June 15, 1917, as quoted by Mr. Bacon in his exposé of "Townleyism." To an audience that filled the Opera House to suffocation, according to Mr. Bacon, Townley said:

> "The nation demands that you give yourselves and your sons and your brothers and your husbands and your sweethearts to be taken across the seas and spill their life's blood on the fields of Europe and then comes to you and asks you to subscribe for the Liberty Bonds to pay for the expenses of the war. This is the injustice of the war and the manner in which the officials of the administration are carrying it into effect."

And from Mr. Bacon's book, "The Farmer and Townleyism," is this:

"At Grand Forks he (Townley) made the assertion that a prominent citizen of that city was the representative of 'Big Business' and of war profiteers and declared his loyalty to be questionable. A prominent attorney in the audience arose and asked Townley if he did not know the man referred to had given his son to the service of the country. Townley, with a sneer, replied, '*Yes, I know many men will sell their sons for a price.*'"

The author says this caused a stir in the audience and that the attorney walked down the aisle shaking his fist at Townley and demanding that he take it back. Townley retracted in so far as it applied to the man in question, but his statement still stands as applying to other men who have sons in the army.

Study Russian Bolshevism—not only what it has done, or undone, but its members' demands. It is so close to the demands of the socialists over here, the anarchists, I. W. W.'s, pacifists, and those other similar societies and organizations that no further description of American Bolshevism is needed.

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BOLSHEVISM IN MILWAUKEE

AT the hearing on the Chamberlain bill before the Military Committee of the Senate at Washington, W. P. Bloodgood of Milwaukee, Acting Chairman of the Council of Defence of Milwaukee County, testified that Daniel Hoan, Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee, told him that if he persisted in his work against Victor Berger his own life (Bloodgood's) and the lives of the members of his family would not be safe in Milwaukee.

In a letter to Senator Chamberlain, Chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate, Mr. Bloodgood enclosed a printed statement of the proceedings before the executive committee of the County Council of Defence, Milwaukee County, March 14, 1918, containing a statement of the charges filed against Mayor Hoan because he took part in drafting the Socialist platform in the Milwaukee Municipal election, which, in so far as it relates to the war, declares:

> "The American people did not want war and do not want this war. They were plunged into this abyss by the treachery of the ruling class of this country—its demagogic agitators, its bought press, its sensational photoplays, its lying advertisements, and other purchasable instruments of public expression. . . . Our Government should immediately negotiate . . . for peace."

Many, like J. G. Phelps Stokes, once openly for Socialism, refused to stand for it when we entered the war. Among these is John Spargo. He wrote as follows to one of the members of the People's Council Organization Committee:

> "Your advocacy of Democratic causes is camouflage which hides your real purpose. You are doing in America what Lenine and Trotzky and their followers have done in Russia, with such disastrous results—betraying the cause of democracy while chanting its watchwords."

About this time the Russian Bolsheviki sent word of support and sympathy for the I. W. W. leaders under indict-

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ment in Chicago and at the same time *demanded the immediate withdrawal of our American forces in France!*

Out in Wisconsin, which is a mighty loyal state despite its misfortune of Bob La Follettism, Mr. Otto H. Kahn addressed a gathering at the University of Wisconsin. This is what he had to say about American Bolshevism:

> "One element only is there in our population which does deliberately challenge our national unity. *I mean the militant Bolsheviki in our midst!*
>
> "If it were not for the disablement of Russia the battle against autocracy would have been won by now. As so often before, Liberty has been wounded in the house of its friends. Liberty is not fool-proof.
>
> "Liberty in the wild and freakish hands of fanatics has has once more, as frequently in the past, proved the effective helpmate of autocracy and the twin brother of tyranny."

BOLSHEVISM A STATE OF MIND

AMERICAN Bolshevism has no legally formed organization, it has no charter, headquarters, officers, by-laws or constitution. Bolshevism is a state of mind—a most unhealthy state of mind.

There *is* an American Bolshevism. It is on every hand, it speaks largely with a German accent, its adherents are defectives, defective as loyalists, defective in politics, defective in humanity, defective in a sense of justice.

The man who shouts "Down with government! Down with everything!" is a Bolshevik.

The man who burns crops, who destroys, is a Bolshevik.

The man who vilifies the name of our President; who by word or act tries to hamper our prosecution of the war in any manner; who foments strikes; who speaks against the Liberty Loan; who shouts "Death" to this or that, is a Bolshevik; for all these things are but the spirit of Bolshevism that is today infecting democracy with the virus of a vicious propaganda that has come across the seas and seeks to organize revolution against law, order and patriotism.

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"SPEEDER-UP" RYAN

OUR NEW AIRCRAFT BOSS

By JOHN BRUCE MITCHELL

JOHN D. RYAN, the new Director of Aircraft Production for the Army, walked into his rather bare office on the ninth floor of the Munsey building in Washington unaccompanied by any "handle" to his name. He is neither a doctor of philosophy, literature or science. He is a plain, every-day man who has done big things in a big and vigorous way.

"John D. Ryan, S.H.", it might be written, the initials meaning "Smiling Hustler." A smile is always a winner. Hustle is another winner, but a smiling hustler is a double winner, and Mr. Ryan was never known to scowl. He works, talks, thinks with a smile.

"Who's Who" does not mention what the "D" in his name means, but from past performances his full name might be written John "Do" Ryan, because he has been doing things ever since he was a boy and went to work in his Uncle Ed Ryan's store in Hancock, Mich.

As soon as the announcement was made of his appointment there was the customary rush of interviewers to his office, and some of them managed to edge in between a couple of callers. When they gained access they found him "workative" rather than "talkative." When this difficulty is met the veteran interviewer falls back upon that old first aid, the Leading Question.

"With all the recent criticism of our aircraft progress," said one of the interviewers, "the pending investigations and the magnitude of the undertaking, I presume that it will be safe to say that a thorough study of what has been left undone and what must be done will be your first plan."

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"My first plan, and all of my plans, will be centered on one thing," said Mr. Ryan, with his perpetual smile.

"And that?" coached the interviewer.

"To make aeroplanes now, and to keep on making them."

HIS JOB TO PRODUCE, NOT STUDY

"CERTAINLY," agreed the interviewer, "but, of course, there is the past history of this mammoth department to be studied."

"My idea of the situation," declared Mr. Ryan, holding his cheerful smile, "is that I haven't been put here so much to study aircraft production history as to make it."

The men who were responsible for the appointment of Mr. Ryan knew all about him, and had especially in mind his traits as a smiling hustler. As a member of the Red Cross Council he was a tireless worker, just as he has been a tireless worker since he first became acquainted with work, which was nearly forty years ago.

"Ryan, Ryan," said a Washington under-official when he heard of the appointment, "he's a sort of a copper king, isn't he?"

The man was right. Mr. Ryan is a sort of a copper king, and has been for many years.

"How does his knowledge of copper mining and copper holdings fit him for this job?" was another question.

He was not appointed because of his knowledge of copper mining or financing and managing copper holdings. He was appointed because he is a keen, practical, hard-headed and energetic business man of sound integrity and enthusiastic patriotism. His business interests are varied. He knows as much about water power as about copper; as much about factory operation as about water power. He is a veteran at finance, an organizer of the same class as Charles M. Schwab.

And just as Schwab is putting "pep" into shipbuilding, so is Mr. Ryan putting "pep" into aircraft building.

Mr. Ryan became famous through his copper dealings and holdings, his organization of copper properties, and he

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amassed much of his fortune in that manner. He is best known for this, yet he has done many other big things and made much money in other lines.

Through his foresight and judgment the now famous Montana Power Company was brought into existence. This company now utilizes waterfalls in that state which supplies power to a great many big mines and to about five hundred miles of railroad. It was Mr. Ryan who first looked over the ground and saw the possibilities in all the water power then going to waste. He secured the sites by careful work and also by hustling. Then he wanted to turn this property overto the Amalgamated Copper Company, now a part of the Anaconda, but the directors couldn't see it at all.

"It is branching out," some of the ultra conservative directors protested, "and it is alien to the copper industry and doesn't look feasible or profitable."

It looked profitable and feasible to Mr. Ryan, and he backed his own judgment by taking it up himself. He developed this power, and thus far he has cleaned up something like $15,000,000 profit.

That is only one of the many instances where Mr. Ryan has demonstrated his keen judgment and his abilities as an organizer. Our expressive word, "pep," wasn't known back in the days that Mr. Ryan was a boy in his home town of Houghton, Michigan, but he possessed that quality, nevertheless, and was known as "That lively Ryan youngster."

SAVED 25,000 TONS OF SHIPS

NOT long ago he had an unused power plant on the Missouri river developing 150,000 horsepower. He looked it over and thought it over. It was too good a property to be idle, especially in these days when the country needed every help. He finally decided to put it at work, in the reduction of manganese ore. He looked into it and found that we use so much of it here that quantities are shipped from Brazil.

There was plenty of manganese about, but no handy means of reducing it. Now he has started up that plant and is making it do so much work in the reduction of this ore that

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five ships of 5,000 tons' capacity each which have been used in freighting manganese from Brazil can be taken off of that work and used for carrying freight across the Atlantic for our own men and our Allies. There's an addition of 25,000 tons of shipping in days when every ton is an immense help to the country.

Some have confused Mr. Ryan with J. *B.* Ryan. They are quite different people. The latter is a son of the wealthy financier, Thomas Fortune Ryan. This is a natural mistake, not only through the similarity of names, but because John Barry Ryan, in 1910, organized the Aeronautical Reserve Corps.

But John *D.* Ryan did not arrive with a silver spoon in his mouth. His father was a clever, straight-thinking and hard-working miner, and became mining captain for the Calumet and Hecla properties in its early days. It was his father who actually discovered the famous copper lode on the south side of Portage river, which was later developed into the Baltic, one of the two richest copper mines of the copper range corporation.

His father's connection with copper mining naturally gave young Ryan a deep interest in it, yet it was some time before he really went into it. After working in his Uncle Ed's store in Hancock he got a job selling oil for the Standard Oil Company. It wasn't anything extra of a job; there were a great many young men through the West doing the same thing. But young Ryan smiled as he hustled and introduced brains into his job, which was not being done any more than absolutely necessary by the majority of the oil agents in those days. Naturally, there was only one thing that could happen to him—promotion—and he became Western manager for the Standard Oil Company, with headquarters in Denver.

CHANGED JOBS FOR MARCUS DALY

BEING Western manager with Ryan did not mean a desk job. It meant more hustling than ever, and his travels took him over an immense territory. In Butte he tried to sell

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oil to Marcus Daly, the famous old financier, who was then developing mines and incidentally stretching out his chain of banks.

"I like you, young man, but I don't like the Standard Oil Company. Come to me representing some other oil company and you shall have all the business I can turn over to you," said Daly.

Ryan thought it over. He was interested in Daly's copper activities as well as in selling oil. The result was that he resigned as Western agent of the Standard Oil Company and returned to Butte and called on Daly. On that trip he sent in a card which read, "John D. Ryan, representing the Crew-Levick Company."

"Send him in," bellowed Daly in such stentorian tones that Ryan, two offices away, heard it.

Ryan certainly did sell oil to Marcus Daly, and they became close friends. When Daly died Mr. Ryan was made a director of the Daly Trust and Banking interests in Butte. So important were his duties that he had to give up other affairs in order to handle the enormous estate of the great copper magnate. It was mighty difficult work in those days, for it was far from being a land of milk and honey out in the copper district, and Mr. Ryan was having a hard road to travel. What Tom Lawson of Boston did to the Amalgamated Copper Company about that time, in one of the greatest muck-raking jobs the country ever saw, is financial history. The Daly interests were the largest shareholders in the company, and just when things were at the worst, Mr. Ryan was made Butte manager of the Amalgamated. Henry H. Rogers was the president. When Mr. Rogers died they made Mr. Ryan president, and there were a great many men throughout the country who grinned and said he was quite welcome to the job.

What Mr. Ryan did for those interests is known throughout the financial world today. It was his efforts that put their great property where it ranks as a standard investment security. Even the name "Amalgamated" is gone. Now it is the 'Anaconda."

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HE FIGHTS WITH A SMILE

MR. RYAN is today president of the Anaconda Copper Mining Co., the United Metals Selling Co. and the Montana Power Co.; a director of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, the Cuba Cane Sugar Corporation, the Greene-Cananea Copper Company, the Inspirational Consolidated Copper Company, the Mechanics and Metals National Bank, the Guaranty Trust Company and a trustee of the American Surety Company, Immigrants Industrial Savings Bank and also a director of the Hibernian Bank in New York.

Mr. Ryan has been working on the Red Cross Council and also as chairman of the sub-committee of the War Industrial Board. His first intimate contact with the Government came just before the United States entered the war. Copper was then selling at about thirty cents a pound, and the supply was short because we had been selling so extensively to Europe. The Government needed a great quantity of this metal because it formed an important part of our preparedness program, and a lower price was greatly to be desired. At the request of Bernard M. Baruch, Mr. Ryan promised to help the Government in the matter. He at once proceeded to consult with the large producers of copper, with the result that our Government secured an immense supply at 16 2-3 cents a pound.

Personally our new official "speeder up" of aircraft production is one of the most delightful men in the world to meet. While he is a fighting man, he fights with a smile. It has been said that he never lost his temper in a business deal. Every year he goes with his family to his home town in Houghton, Mich., ostensibly to play golf, but in reality just to chum around with some of his old boyhood friends. He never fails to climb the six flights of stairs in the *Gazette* Building to have a chat with his old friend, Homer Guck, the editor. Guck asked him one day what he considered the most important of all his business triumphs and successes in life.

"My election as a director of the Hibernian Bank in New York," answered Mr. Ryan. "It came to me on a sil-

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ver salver. One has to be a Hibernian to be on the board. I did no business with that institution, and the place was offered to me as an honor to a son of Erin. Nothing else would have pleased my father quite as much."

For a great many years Mr. Ryan has been one of the biggest business and financial executives in the country, and probably the most noted copper mining man in the world. His appointment as Chief of Aircraft Production for the Army, a single individual with definite and adequate power to deal with all the aspects of the work, was a logical and necessary step. He is in charge of the work of building aircraft, and nothing else. Brigadier-General William L. Kenly is in charge of the machines after they are produced, and by this combination great results are anticipated. The passage of the Overman Bill empowers the President to transfer full power to Mr. Ryan, enabling him to spend money and be entirely responsible for the funds devoted to the production of aircraft and for every detail in the production. It is said that Mr. Ryan may make his headquarters in New York, where he will be in closer touch with the work, where he will not be delayed by the almost endless conferences that seem unavoidable in Washington, and where he can plunge into his all-important duties to much better advantage.

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OUR MILITARY LEGISLATION

By HON. GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN

[CHAIRMAN OF THE U. S. SENATE MILITARY COMMITTEE]

Senator Chamberlain as Chairman of the powerful Senate Military Committee, tells the story of its war work up to date. The Senator establishes certain definite reasons for it, and interprets vividly the relation of this legislation to the War Department.

In a statement defending the activities of the Senate Military Committee, Senator Chamberlain, on May 15, said:

"The President has no more ardent supporters in the United States than the Senators comprising the Military Affairs Committee. In all they have done their single purpose has been to aid and not hinder; and I think the country pretty generally understands that the results of their efforts have been to aid rather than to hinder.

"During the Civil War the joint committee of the Senate and House was an entirely different committee from the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate and its purpose was broader and its work extended over a much broader field. That committee inquired into victories and defeats of the army, the character and quality of the personnel thereof, and a multitude of subjects which this committee has never had any idea of inquiring into."

SINCE Congress convened the Senate Military Committee has been in constant and active conference in formulating and carrying through the Senate legislation in regard to all measures required by the War Department for the development of an army with which to re-inforce our Allies in Europe and to enable the United States to share the burden of the war in which American principles are being sustained at the cost of American lives and the ultimate resources of the Nation.

The necessity of prompt action on certain recommendations of the War Department was one of the first considerations of the Committee. Obviously it recognized that many of the requests and provisions submitted by the Secretary of War for legislative action were urgent, and for that reason

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the Committee fully realized the need of making every effort towards prompt and progressive legislation.

To make these recommendations effective, Congress is fully aroused to the anxiety and interest with which the whole country is watching the progress of our military and naval forces at the front, and that there must be the utmost speed consistent with prudent legislation in making Congressional decisions of great import.

Our lack of military preparedness when we entered the war, demonstrated by our disappointments in the size of our armed and equipped forces for use on the other side, demands that the war plans of this country be developed in the most comprehensive manner and speeded up to the last degree. The duties of Congress involve the constant application of its members to meet the legislation necessary to the perfection of our Army as well as our Navy.

Very many of the bills approved by the Senate Military Committee are still pending. Since the opening of this second session of the Sixty-fifth Congress only bills requiring immediate action have become laws. Hence in reviewing the legislation recommended for passage through the Senate Military Committee, it is plain that the bills which have been passed are not necessarily the most important measures, although they are far reaching in the support of the war energies of the Government. Some of the objects of the legislation in the Senate are amendments made to previous laws in order to facilitate war preparation. In passing upon these bills the Senate Military Committee must exercise care and foresight to secure at once strength for the Army and protection to the men and officers constituting it. It must devise the best means for the War Department to secure needed supplies and equipment, including ordnance, aeroplanes, food and clothing.

In this review only a brief summary of the legislation which has been considered by the Senate Military Committee is possible, but it will serve as informative material so that the American people may have an insight into what the Committee does to prepare for outcoming war legislation.

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AN INSIGHT INTO ITS WORK

ON March 16th, of this year, Congress passed an act granting furloughs to enlisted men, to some with and to others without pay, according to conditions. This measure was for the purpose of permitting enlisted men to engage in civil occupations and pursuits, with the special object of enabling the War Department to release soldiers in the National Army during harvest and planting time. They thus can assist in the cultivation of the farms and in the production of food for the country and for the Army. The War Department issued orders April 2 for short furloughs to soldiers during the farming season. This act was in a sense a protective war measure for the Government and was recommended by the Secretary of War, "so that the special furloughs could be granted without raising a claim against the Government for pay."

On February 15th the law was enacted that enlisted men discharged to accept commissions and subsequently discharged from such commission, shall be restored to their previous grades, providing they re-enlist within three months from such discharge. Congress took this action at the request of the War Department, because it was found that non-commissioned officers of many years' standing refused temporary promotion, lest they should lose their status in the service as enlisted men in the Army and at the same time forfeit all their accrued rights of longevity and retired pay.

Upon the recommendation of the Secretary of War a law was passed in February of this year to amend the act of June 3, 1916, affecting the necessity of increasing the number of trained military instructors and assistant instructors at educational institutions. Under the previous act the War Department was not authorized to detail officers of the National Army or National Guard to this duty. At the time the recommendation was made there were only a hundred retired officers and two officers of the active list detailed to this duty. This number was altogether inadequate to provide for the growing cadet corps of many of the larger institutions which stood in need of assistant professors of military

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science and tactics. Over eighty universities and colleges applied to the War Department for the detail of one or more army officers to act as instructors. Some of the institutions had secured the services of disabled French and British officers for the purpose of giving instructions; but that only helped to supply a large shortage. There were not arms and equipment available for military instruction; and in response to the recommendation of the Secretary of War, Congress passed a bill increasing the number of officers to be assigned to duty in educational institutions and also authorized the detail of enlisted men, not to exceed a thousand in number, for the purpose of giving instruction in schools and colleges; and to make available such arms, tentage and equipment as the Secretary of War shall deem necessary for proper military training in such institutions.

It is interesting to note that military matters of comparatively small significance must also be legislated upon by the Senate, and they, like the greater bills, must receive consideration by the Military Committee. One of these minor bills passed in April made it unlawful to interfere with carrier pigeons owned by the United States and bearing a band with the letters U. S. A. or U. S. N. and a serial number.

PROVIDING FOR OFFICERS AND FAMILIES

ON April 16th a bill was passed providing for proper quarters or commutation thereof to commissioned officers on duty in the field or on active duty without the territorial jurisdiction of the United States. Under existing law an officer was entitled to quarters and light for his family in army posts where such quarters were available, and to provide fairly for those officers who were detailed for duty at stations where there were no quarters available for them, Congress had provided as commutation of quarters a certain fixed rate per room besides the regular addition for light and heat. The number of rooms to which each officer under these conditions was entitled depended upon his rank. No commutation of quarters was allowed for officers on duty in the field, it being the theory that there they were supplied with

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quarters and provisions, and the care of the family was not taken into consideration. This resulted in great hardship for the large number of officers who were ordered abroad for service and whose families were thus left without the benefit of quarters or house rent. To relieve this hard situation Congress passed the act of April 16th, which allowed to officers on such duty commutation of quarters at the same rate they would have if on duty at a station where quarters were not available. Only such officers as have wives, children or dependent parents are entitled to the benefit of this act.

Legislation was enacted towards the end of March attaching the officers of the Philippine Scouts to the militia or other armed forces in the Philippine Islands when drafted into the service of the United States.

In the legislation now pending concerning the military establishment of the United States there are many important measures still under consideration by either the Senate Military Committee or the Committee of Military Affairs of the House.

ADJUSTING THE DRAFT AND COMMANDEERING TIMBER

IN April the Provost Marshal General requested the Senate Military Committee to secure legislation for the amendment of the Selective Draft Act. It had been found that this act required the several states and divisions thereof to raise quotas of men in proportion to their population, and reasons were given why this course was not quite wise. They were that the Census Bureau's estimate of population was inaccurate and that many localities in which the proportion of aliens was high were called upon for soldiers disproportionately. The legislation suggested to adjust these differences proposed that the President be authorized to call for military service from all or part of the persons in any class in proportion to the number of persons in such class and the various sub-divisions of the states and territories. One of the purposes of this act was to make allowance for the greater number of volunteer enlistments in some states than there were in others. This legislation came up in the shape of a joint reso-

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lution, which, with various modifications, has been passed by both Houses and is now awaiting the action of the President. Another joint resolution affecting the same bill was on the question of registering those young men who have come into the draft age since the passage of the Selective Service Draft Act. The resolution adopted by the Senate was amended by the House. The resolution went to conference and as agreed upon has been passed by the Senate, but not yet been passed by the House.

In March a bill was introduced empowering the President to requisition timber and timber lands for war purposes; it has passed the Senate and it is pending in the House. Its object is to enable the Government to speed up shipbuilding and aircraft programs and also to protect itself from persons who, through disloyalty or any other cause, seek to retard action of the Government by refusing to sell their timber lands at all or only at exorbitant prices. These high prices have made it very difficult, especially in Southern shipyards, to obtain timber for the construction of ships under contract with the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and made it necessary to ship millions of feet of lumber from the Pacific Northwest, resulting in an increase in cost by freight charges and congestion of railroad transportation.

The Signal Corps of the Army has found much difficulty in obtaining sufficient supplies of spruce, which enters into the composition of aeroplanes here and abroad. Enormous quantities of this wood must be obtained, because only certain parts of the largest trees are suitable for the manufacture of aeroplanes. The Department has instituted operations leading to the lumbering of large spruce districts to secure enough of this valuable timber. In this work they were hindered in some instances by the fact that some owners are difficult of ascertainment or refuse to sell except at high prices. To speed up acquirement of spruce for aeroplanes the Senate passed a bill authorizing the Government to take over forest lands and lumber mills. That act has passed the Senate and is now pending in the House. Under the terms of this bill an unpatriotic owner will be forced to sell his hold-

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ing at a reasonable price and make way for the Government, while ample protection is given to the man who wants to do his duty.

FOR A WAR CABINET

THE Senate Committee, after very many hearings on the subject, introduced a bill to create a War Cabinet, to be composed of three distinguished citizens, to be appointed by the President with the advice of the Senate, and at the same time introduced a bill for the appointment of a Director of Munitions by the President. These last two bills, on account of the President's expressed opposition to them, will not be pressed for passage. The Overman bill, so-called, gives the President the power to do what was proposed by the bills named.

A bill for the registration of aliens for military service was recommended by the Secretary of War. This bill concerns aliens residing in this country whose countries have concluded an agreement with the United States to permit their being drafted into the American military forces.

The Senate has passed a bill which permits the acceptance of foreign decorations by members of the military or naval forces of the United States. This legislation is now pending in the House.

A bill was passed on April 20, 1918, authorizing the President to fill vacancies in the Regular Army caused by promotion to higher grades in forces other than the Regular Army by temporary appointment. This bill was passed and approved by the President on the 20th of April.

At the same time the President approved a law passed by Congress to reimburse officers and enlisted men for actual traveling expenses, including food and lodging, while they were traveling on official business and not attached to the movement of troops.

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In the nature of things nearly all bills recommended by the War Department are presented with written recommendations by the Secretary of War and in the letters of transmittal the reasons are set forth. Usually before reporting a bill some officer of the Army or official of the Department presents himself before the Committee and orally gives the reasons why the bill should be passed. If the Committee is of the opinion that some legislation should be passed for the benefit of the military establishment of the country, of its own initiative it takes up the subject, calls before it such witnesses, officers of the Department or citizens, and listens to such statements as they make with a view to framing legislation thereon.

INVESTIGATING THE WAR DEPARTMENT

DURING the past winter, in addition to the ordinary hearings on which to take legislative action, the Committee has spent months in its investigation of the conditions in the War Department, taking up the various branches, such as ordnance, the Quartermaster Department, aeroplane production and other subjects, and inquired into them with the utmost particularity.

These investigations, in some instances, have resulted in suggestions for legislation embodying the views of the committee as to what was best to be done to speed up war preparation; and in other instances, in the presentation of concrete reports, as illustrated by the report on aircraft production, suggesting what ought to be done for greater efficiency and showing in a general way the present status of work in this branch of the service. A resolution was introduced in the Senate a few days ago extending the powers of the committee as to aircraft and ordnance production, as well as other branches of the service, and proposing to give the committee better facilities for its work. This resolution was referred to the proper committee of the Senate and will probably be reported out promptly. As soon as it has been acted upon the committee will continue its work for the purpose of assisting the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy in the great work he is engaged in of rendering the greatest possible assistance to our allies.

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HOW'S WASHINGTON NOW?

By WILLIAM DE WAGSTAFFE

WASHINGTON is on the defensive.

Peacefully content and hopeful beneath the glory of the Allied flags that wave happily in all directions, it is a city of outward gaiety. One feels remarkably safe in the Executive atmosphere, by the peaceful banks of the Potomac. The streets are filled with soldiers and sailors awaiting orders, briskly saluting their officers. Their adoring relatives fill the hotels and lodging houses to the exclusion of any one who happens to find himself in Washington on business. As you step out from the railroad terminal into full view of the magnificent Capitol, the British flag greets you cordially. The American flag flies above it, and the French flag to the right. Recalling previous visits, before the war, one is impressed with the thought that this Administrative city of the United States is called Washington, that it was created and planned by George Washington, the first President. There isn't much time to give to this thought, however; it is really very unimportant in the present world problem. But there comes to mind the grim magnificence of that first war thrill in Washington commanded by the supreme figure of American courage and common sense, Abraham Lincoln. And then the martial music of the military bands parading the streets of Washington confirms the right of these associations of war feeling established by the previous war Presidents of the United States.

By far the most beautiful city in the country, it has, however, lost its former individuality in the war emergencies that are centered there. It has lost its social leisure, its diplomatic character, which was a great charm of Washington

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life. The foreign Ambassadors themselves are at high tension; one rarely sees them. Their families have felt the pressure of war disaster, and the diplomatic hatreds of Germany have embittered the former graceful sensibility of diplomatic gaiety. The home life of Washington, which used to be social, peaceful, has almost entirely disappeared. The men are overwrought with war problems, the members of Congress are constantly at the Capitol or in their offices. Their wives and daughters are occupied in various committees of war work, with serious duties that have been imposed upon them, so that the former drawing room ambition which made Washington so attractive to them scarcely exists any more.

There is no leisure in Washington now. Innumerable ranshackle buildings, formerly adorned with colonial memories, have been repainted, camouflaged with bristling signs which endeavor to convey the impression that they are hotels. The real aristocrat, the haughty person of Washington today, is the hotel clerk. He patronizes you, he challenges you, he defies you, and he robs you. You tell him you have no home and he tells you how comfortable his own is. You ask him if there is any hope of finding shelter in his hotel in the near future and he shakes his head joyously. He rebukes you for not having telephoned a week ago. He resents the fact that you should dare to come to Washington without first asking his permission. He seems to regard you as an irresponsible imbecile and is merciless in his manner. If you have a friend in Washington (which is a very improbable prospect, because friendship has long been inexpedient in view of the money that can be made by householders from renting their rooms) that friend will not ask you where you are stopping. He doesn't care to be embarrassed by hearing your tale of woe. He silently assumes that you are " fixed up " somewhere.

This is the condition in Washington that is defensive. The city is too small for the crowds that are pouring into it. Proposals have been made in the Senate to create a law restricting the number of parents and relatives of soldiers from coming to Washington at all. It is a law that should

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be passed; the President himself is said to have favored it. The Executive Departments of the National welfare are in Washington, therefore all business interests of the war have to be finally concluded there, and the men who must accomplish this work deserve the hospitality which the city can afford.

EXIT, ANCIENT WASHINGTON

THE old-time hospitable one-horse landaus, driven by the ingratiating black coachman of the Southern plantations variety, have been entirely banished. The Washington taxi man is the supreme pirate of transportation. He refuses to inspire his clutch for less than a dollar. His taxi, painted a battle gray, dashes through the formerly quiet streets of Washington with metropolitan risk. And there are very few of him, not enough to meet the emergencies of the people who are willing to pay any price for his abominable service. Of course, nearly every one residing in Washington owns a fliver. Official automobiles, on government service abound. Washington, being a city managed by the wisdom of a committee, really has no personal rights outside the will of this committee. This commission runs the city according to its own mental disturbances. Recently it was decided the street cars could stop only at certain places where the commission ordered. There was no apparent consideration of whether this would be comfortable for the passengers, or convenient, or whether it was an advantage to traffic. You were instructed to look for a yellow sign on the sidewalk, to keep walking till you found one before a car would stop to take you on. The result has been that the street cars, as confused by this as the passengers, wander through the city, making what they call skip-stops. There were more skips than stops to the street car traffic on this account. The traffic policeman, given all the signaling paraphernalia of a metropolitan guardian, feels his importance. Under a huge umbrella he stands at the intersection of certain streets gesticulating gracefully and leisurely. He is an ornamental figure, useful on parade day.

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THE CAPITAL WITHOUT BALTIMORE WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE

THE prosperity in Washington is very obvious. The theatres are crowded to the roof, the moving picture houses are compelled to give extra performances. Pennsylvania Avenue and F Street are filled with people, but there is no improvement in the shops or in the goods they display. This shopping centre in Washington has had the same shops and about the same display for the last twenty years. Washington people do their shopping in New York or in Baltimore. Without Baltimore Washington would be lost. There are moments in the stress of National responsibility when men regret the prohibition state, in Washington, in which they are compelled to live. For this reason nearly every active man in Washington carries a Baltimore time table in his watch pocket. Fortunately there are a great many trains between Baltimore and Washington, and they are always filled. Baltimore is a life-saving station for Washington. It is possible to find rescue stations from the drought in Washington, but the relief is of the very poor kind, and very high priced. These things are not talked about; they are regarded as the indiscretions of National life in the great city of Administration.

In the lobbies of the fashionable hotels one sees a great many elaborately uniformed foreign officers. In physique, in military colors, in general manner they are more impressive than the American officers. They are the cream of the European armies, many of them invalided, convalescent, on special duty with their new ally, the United States. The jaunty, less magnificent khaki officer of the American Army passes rather stiffly among these foreign heroes in bristling spurs. "Joe" Cannon, former Speaker of the House, explained the American officer's devotion to his spurs. He said they wear them in Washington to keep their feet from slipping off the desks. Of course, they do not belong there.

Mr. Hoover's appealing outbursts for food conservation are prominently displayed on the ménus at all the hotels. As a consequence, indigestible bread costs twice as much as good bread used to, and meat portions have become microscopic.

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French waiters are quite as smiling and attentive as if they were proud of the food they were serving, and the tables in the restaurants are still in the dim lights of happier days. Bridal couples on their honeymoons continue to beam happily at each other, indifferent to bloodshed and starvation. Bored ladies in very décolleté dresses seem to be just as gay over their glass of milk as they used to be over their cocktail. There is plenty of money in Washington, but you have to spend it all, very often on undesirable things.

It is a peculiarity of Washington, however, that a great many really American people go there to show how much they have to spend. The overdressed woman, accompanied by her barbarously tailored husband, abounds. No matter how depressing the war news may be, one goes through the peacock alleys at Washington with a sense of indifference to the war.

Washington is on the defensive against all economy.

In the smaller hotels, even in the newly adorned lodging houses where signs blazen forth the fact that ladies as well as gentlemen can be accommodated for seventy-five cents a night, one sees the country-bred. In little groups, hayseed father, old-fashioned mother, tall pig-tailed daughter, and boy growing faster than his clothes, shamble out of these places into the white lights of Washington. Appalled at the size of the Treasury building, hushed on the curb of the White House, awed by the fake cannon on the military statues and squares, they walk till they drop, and finally end up in some people's eating place, too impressed to eat. The colored population in Washington regards the city as its own. There are more of them on the street cars than is pleasant. They crowd in with market baskets, laundry bundles, live chickens, anything and everything needed in the colored home. They are the original Washingtonians.

THE THRONE ROOM OF WASHINGTON

THE crowded side of Washington is by no means its inherent character. The throne room of war is the Capitol. The ministers of war representing the people are the

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Senators and Congressmen. The politics of Congress no longer interest these men; they are in the throes of military and naval preparedness. Occasionally the atmosphere of that beautiful, sunny legislative hill crowned by the Capitol is singularly inspiring of poetic thought. With its magnificent sloping lawns, its beautiful abundance of flowers, with the stately marble columns and wide balconies, of the most artistic bit of architecture in the United States, it becomes the most inspiring hill-top in America. The modern Senator's chief regret is that he cannot wear a uniform. He has undergone a political change of heart. Politics seem small compared to the splendor of National defense. Washington is no longer a place of individual ambition to him; it is the National theatre in which he plays his part in war. The leaders, the men who endure by sheer force of patriotism and hatred of Germany, are tireless workers, the physical strain due to the vast responsibility put upon them seems to vitalize their strength. They grow younger instead of older. They have gained impressed dignity from the wide scope of their energies. The issues which some of them may have with the policies of the Administration have no political impulse. Their objections are opposed, not bitterly, but magnificently; not merely with technical oratory, but with the fire of intense patriotism. These leaders are the National giants, who, gathered on the crest of Capitol Hill, survey this surging sentiment of war among the people. The rest, the Senators and Congressmen who have not the gift of leadership, who have not the physical initiative, turn white to the lips in their emotional support of the leaders.

The Senators who have been called rebellious, no less sincere than the leaders of patriotic effort, have had a hard time. In their opposition they have had no private interest, no political ambition. Their task has been to ask embarrassing questions, and they have been accused of pro-German sentiment for their curiosity. However, they are slow to change the traditional rights of their duties. They have done what was once expected of them; they have tried to stand between the people and the government. That was the

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Washington of neutral days. That was the Washington before the declaration of war. That is no longer the Washington of today.

IN THE SENATE SANCTUM

MANY of the important acts of Congress are inspired on the impulse of the moment. The Senate chamber, arranged like a university, with the teacher sitting high up overlooking the scholars, is no longer a place of historical jealousies. The scholars, since the Declaration of War, are learning, and some of them wait for the teacher to explain the problems, and some of them object to the teacher's explanation. They watch each other with benign indifference. They listen to each other with restless preoccupation. Between private business at their desks they may scribble an amendment for a National bill. Sometimes such an amendment goes through, and the Senator who has written the amendment for the moment is surprised.

Long speeches bearing upon some point of legislation proposed by an opposition Senator are sometimes made when the Senate chamber is almost empty. An earnest bit of oratory can last for an hour and a half, a memorized speech listened to perhaps by three men. The Senator talking, walking up and down the corridors of the empty Senate chamber, trying his best to keep three sleepy Senators awake, may finally become disgusted. The Chairman of the Senate, entirely ignoring his speech, waits till the sound of his voice stops before he looks up. It was on such an occasion that a prominent Senator from the West showed signs of distress.

"Mr. President," he said, "this seems to be a good time to read a fairy story which I wrote at this desk the other day in a cynical mood. It has nothing to do with this appropriation, and it has no special bearing upon present legislation, but I should like to read it, and I am going to."

He read the fairy story, which was a poetic bit of literature, and when he finished, with the people in the galleries fast asleep, the Senate adjourned. His reading of the fairy

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story was merely an outlet for his injured poetic feeling, a rebuke to the Senate as a body.

In the House of Representatives the fire-eating Southern Congressman is still the explosive menace of the legislative sessions. Every now and then a Southern gentleman is offended, he reminds the House of the courtesy of the Confederate history, he manages to create an uproar and stimulates action.

Since the Declaration of War most of the important Congressional legislation has been accomplished by special committees, by investigating reports, by recommendations from the Government Departments themselves.

The espionage activities of Washington are far greater than the public can ever know. Secret Service men look you over as you step off the train. Your private opinions are known. While there is the utmost freedom of talk on Capitol Hill, there is extreme reserve at the bottom of the hill. Sentries with wicked bayonets patrol the barred gates of the White House and the Executive buildings. Men who came to Washington with the idea that they could talk freely have been taken from Washington and sent to Atlanta penitentiary by orders of the Department of Justice. The men who are in power, and these are the men who make Washington the master-key of our war policies, are much more accessible than they should be.

Washington is on the defensive because it is often badly misunderstood.

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WHAT BIRD CONSERVATION MEANS

By STEPHEN READER

HAVE you ever stopped to think that bird conservation and the high cost of living had relation one to the other,—or that bird conservation had, apart from its pictorial angle, a great economic appeal which made it important to every housewife? Do you realize that bird conservation will help win the war?

All thinkers have realized that without song of the birds, or without their brilliant plumage to lighten the summer woods,—this world would be rather a dreary place,—but far more important than any sentimental thoughts inspired by their beauty, is the fact that the birds are the greatest natural factors in keeping down a pest which would in time, if unchecked, be fatal to man.

This sounds an exaggeration, but one of the greatest, if not *the* greatest, natural enemy of man is the insect pest which yearly destroys millions of dollars' worth of crops. Insects, many of them so minute as to be invisible to the casual glance, are everywhere, especially in the fields where food products are grown. As civilization creeps into the places where once nature ran wild, it brings with it insect life.

Any type of wild life is determined by two factors—the extent of its food and its enemies. Some insects increase so rapidly that one pair may multiply to the thousands in the course of a year, while there are only two young birds, the great enemy of the insects, in that period. With the planting of more crops there is more food for the insects, and unless the crops are to become solely insect food, there must be some active agent which will prey on the destroyers. Some insects, a large number, to be exact, are the prey of certain

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parasites, but these parasites alone cannot do the work required, and there is no means of increasing their numbers.

There is, however, a way of increasing the birds, and to the birds must man look for salvation from his natural enemy. This is one of the important reasons for bird conservation. The robin, one of the commonest of garden birds, has often been accused as a fruit thief, but he makes up for any damage he does by his insect killing proclivities. An examination of the gizzards of twelve robins killed at random showed that eight of the birds had eaten nothing but insects, while more than 75 per cent. of the food of the other birds had been insects. The insects were of every variety, and included leaf beetles—dangerous plant insects—cut worms, crane flies, which eat the roots of grain crops, and vine worms.

The question that naturally comes into mind after reading such a statement as the above is, "What can I do?" "How may I do my share?"

The answer is simple. Every garden, every window box is a unit in the fight to protect and increase the birds, just as is some great stretch of land given over to the feathered folk as a nesting ground. Any place where the birds may come and be free from molesting hands is a boon, and the mother of the family who teaches her small boys to protect the birds has done a considerable share of the work.

In the early part of this century a number of men and women who realized the necessity of conserving the birds gathered themselves into an organization to carry on their fight. At the end of four years nineteen states had passed what are commonly known as the Audubon Laws (making it illegal to *kill non-game birds* at any season of the year—there being open seasons for game birds), and since then the movement has spread until practically every state has its bird laws.

As a direct outgrowth of these laws came two aids to bird conservation that are notable. One was the help extended by the general public, the other was a signed order from Theodore Roosevelt, then President of the United States, which set aside a small island in the Indian River,

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Florida, the first Federal land given, for the use of the Department of Agriculture as a preserve and breeding ground for native birds.

Up to the present time there have been in the neighborhood of seventy Federal Bird Conservations appointed throughout the United States, and there are numerous other territories which are protected breeding places. All of our National parks,—National monuments and National cemeteries, as well as lighthouse reservations, both in the United States and Canada, are protected by Federal laws.

The latest, and perhaps one of the greatest victories accomplished, is the recently signed protection treaty between Unitd States and Canada, to protect migratory birds.

Far more important than the Federal and State reservations for the birds is the work that can be carried on by every individual as they go about their daily life.

A source of danger to the birds which can in a measure be rectified by private persons who take the trouble to make themselves acquainted with the law, comes from the various aliens who have flocked to this country. An Italian will eat any type of bird, and they kill in large quantities. In a short time, only a few weeks, a Pennsylvania game warden confiscated over one hundred and fifty guns of various types from aliens who had been found killing song birds for food. There is at present a law in the drafting which will make it illegal for any alien to use a rifle, though the law will probably have to be modified so that a license will be required, the license fee being so high as to render the possession of firearms prohibitive.

The presence of such a danger in the field makes it doubly necessary the common birds have the protection of the private door yard, and that during certain seasons of the year an effort be made to feed the birds. While it may be true that certain birds do some small damage to the garden, they amply repay for what they steal by keeping down the insect pests. Small bird houses among the trees attract birds, and particularly the house wren, a bird which is as great an insect destroyer as the robin.

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There is another bird which might well be cultivated for the garden, and that is the woodpecker. These birds will not come about a place from which *all* the dead wood has been cut away, but if they do make their nests in the trees, the house wren and bluebirds are fairly sure to follow and occupy the deserted holes of the woodpecker.

Bird conservation is an American necessity, just as food is a daily human necessity. We are planting larger crops this spring than ever before in our history, and we will need more birds than ever. Do your bit,—now! Help save the birds about your home and in your community. Bird conservation has a rare sentimental angle, and a vitally economic value. The conservation and multiplication of the birds lie within the power of every American, and it is up to every American to do his or her share of the work.

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WHO'S SHE IN WAR WORK

By ANNE EMERSON

WHEN the history of this war is written woman will loom large in the chronicle of heroic deeds and resourceful achievements; to knit, and weep, to cook, and keep the home fires burning, was woman's part of the wars of yesterday. Today SHE is everywhere; a Salvation lassie; serving coffee and doughnuts *on the firing line;* in the Red Cross Emergency Hospital *at the front;* in the munition factory *at home;* filling the gaps in man-made industry everywhere. Woman is the flaming sword of light, encouraging, stimulating, aiding, abetting the soldier in every war activity.

Too, she is collecting the sinews of war; she is raising the funds; she is planting the crops; she is omnipresent.

Mrs. Woodrow Wilson is engrossed in war activities. Though her hands are busy with the knitting needle, her mind is alert for opportunities for stimulating war effort. She has spoken repeatedly to gatherings of war workers, and recently reviewed a parade of women war workers of Philadelphia. By the first airplane of the Washington-New York Aerial Mail Service she sent a gold thimble she has treasured for many years. This thimble will be used by the Aviation Committee of the National Special Aid Society, which is collecting old gold and silver and converting it into cash, the proceeds of which will be used for special comforts for the boys in our aviation service.

Mrs. William H. Taft is a contributor to the same fund. She recently brought to the headquarters thirty-three pieces of silver, most of them gifts received when President and Mrs. Taft celebrated their silver wedding anniversary in the White House in 1911.

WOMEN IN PATRIOTIC WORK

IDA M. TARBELL has put aside her literary activities to head the Food Administration Department of the Woman's Committee of National Defense. Miss Tarbell is

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capable of the work her position demands, for she is a practical farmer. This spring she is preaching the doctrine of the use of potatoes as a wheat substitute.

Because Mrs. Oliver Cromwell Field, president of the American Patriotic Legion, has been waging a successful fight through the newstands, town after town, and city after city, has passed and enforced a resolution forbidding the sale of any periodical printed in the German language.

Mrs. Florence B. Hillis, daughter of the late Ambassador Thomas F. Bayard, is working in a shell-loading plant of the Bethlehem Steel Company. Mrs. Hillis noticed an appeal for extra workers and immediately offered her services.

In order to provide recreation for the thousands of young women called through work to Washington, Mrs. Newton D. Baker, wife of the Secretary of War, is acting as head of a Welfare Division to organize outdoor games, pageants, dramatic entertainments, dramas, etc.

The work that has been done by the women in aid of the Liberty Loans is largely responsible for the great success of all three issues. Mrs. E. M. House, wife of Colonel House, President Wilson's close adviser, was a daily worker in one of the Eastern cities, occupying a humble position on one of the larger booths. The Countess de Bryas, who came to the United States to aid Miss Anne Morgan with the collection of funds for the reconstruction work that Miss Morgan is doing in France, ceased soliciting funds for France to lecture for the third Loan, while Mrs. William K. Vanderbilt appeared at one of the Loan booths during the campaign just closed and offered to pay the first two dollars on every fifty-dollar bond the audience would buy from her. She sold over eight hundred bonds in an hour.

A close rival of Mrs. Vanderbilt's is Mme. Lina Cavalieri, who toured the country selling bonds, making a record of $100,000 worth of bonds in an evening's work. Geraldine Farrar has not only lent her presence to the bond sale,—but her voice as well. This American songstress has been singing for bonds,—literally, for on many occasions she offered

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to sing every time a large-sized bond was sold,— and her appearance at a booth frequently developed into a recital.

Mrs. William G. McAdoo has 500,000 women working under her leadership. She is tireless in her speechmaking, having traveled to all parts of the country to keep the enthusiasm at a "buying" point.

Jeanette C. Rankin, our Congresswoman from Montana, toured the country making bond speeches, while Miss Helen Taft, a niece of the ex-President, offered a real circus "stunt." She obtained from the Fire Commissioner of one city a fire extension ladder, and a field crew of firemen. Each time a person in the crowd bought a bond Miss Taft climbed another rung of the ladder until she was more than ninety feet in the air. She went up the ladder four times, and offered to dive into a net held by firemen for a $5,000 subscription. She got the subscription,—but it was with the stipulation she *did not* dive.

RED CROSS WORKERS

ELEANOR ROBSON BELMONT (Mrs. August Belmont) went to France at the request of the American Red Cross and made a tour of the hospitals, dispensaries, and canteens in order that she might bring back to the American people an exact account of the work being done over seas. She is now lecturing throughout the country on her journey, which she called "The Trail of a Red Cross Dollar."

Three women stage stars who temporarily closed their seasons to aid the Red Cross drive just closed are Laurette Taylor, Mrs. Fiske, and Helen Ware. All three appeared in the revival of "Out There,"—and at a personal sacrifice of several weeks' salary.

While Charles M. Schwab gives his time at a dollar a year to his country, Mrs. Schwab, his wife, has turned over her beautiful New York City home as a workroom for the Red Cross. The art gallery now echoes the hum of sewing machines, while the big ballroom is filled with long tables on which bandages are rolled.

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THE BORDEAUX CAFETERIA AND THE WOMEN OF THE NAVY

A SOLDIER BOY,—a member of one of America's wealthy families, went into a cafeteria in Bordeaux, and taking up his tray, selected a light lunch. When he asked for milk he was told that one of the women in charge would bring it to his table. He sat down and started to eat. A tall, slender girl came to his table and poured him a glass of milk. As he looked up to thank her he recognized the waitress and almost knocked the table over in his haste to rise and relieve her of the heavy pitcher.

"Please don't get up," she said quickly, for the recognition had been mutual. "Remember this isn't Bar Harbor, and I'm doing my bit."

The young woman with the pitcher of milk was Mrs. Vincent Astor.

Together with a number of American women, Mrs. Astor is conducting the cafeteria for American soldiers and sailors at Bordeaux. About sixteen hundred men are served every day. Mrs. Astor does her full share of the work, washing dishes, serving at the tables, helping to prepare the food. Mrs. Ethel Rumsey, daughter of the late E. H. Harriman, is in the same cafeteria, and it is of interest that the husbands of both these young women are wearing uniforms.

The story of who's she in war work might go on indefinitely. Lucy K. Burleson, daughter of the Postmaster General, is a third-class yeoman in the U. S. Naval Reserve, serving in the Disbursing Department.

Another yeoman is Miss Sue Dorsey, whom Rear Admiral McGowan calls "the most valuable woman in the Government," and adds: "If anyone deserves a commission, she does." Miss Dorsey keeps track of 1,500 pay officers, knowing where each man is, and how well he is doing his work.

Mrs. Josephus Daniels, wife of the Secretary of the Navy, and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, wife of the Assistant Secretary, are at the hend of the Navy Department Auxiliary of the Red Cross.

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NEW BOOKS

By CHARLES FRANCIS REED

A Group of New Novels

JUNE, with its soft, balmy days, the breezes that come stealing in through the open windows, with sunshine that is warm, but not too hot, turns one's thoughts from the land of everyday to the open fields, the hills, a lazy afternoon and an entertaining book.

This entertaining book is probably needed more today than ever before. The year that has passed has been lived at a state of mental tension never before possible for American minds. Our daily press has pictured actualities far more romantic, more sensational, than any fiction story has ever dared to be,—and now we must turn to the novelists as we have to the playwrights, for a chance to let our minds stray from the land of actuality to the land of romance.

Not that one will escape the war in the modern novel that is freshly issued by the publishers,—quite the contrary,—for the war is serving for the background of our lives, and the novel, if it be of today, must carry with it a martial strain.

First of a group of recent novels sent for review is "The Long Trick,"[1] by "Bartimeus." As the story progresses the reader wonders why more novels having the great navies as a foundation have not been written. Certainly not because life aboard the battleships lacks excitement,—perhaps it is because there are so few writers who really know the sea.

The novel in question,—one might almost call it a series of sketches,—has to do with the British fleet. It tells of men who fight, of women who wait. The characterizations are particularly noteworthy. The people of the book are filled with a natural gaiety that comes from courage and hope,—underneath is the grimness that is born because of the presence of death. The battle described is the Jutland encounter,

[1] "The Long Trick," by Bartimeus. The Geo. H. Doran Co. $1.30 net.

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and the author's description reaches a truly exciting climax.

" Bartimeus," the author, is, by the way, as interesting a character as his book. He is a young officer formerly attached to the British fleet, who, through some mishap, not made public, was for a time deprived of his sight. Later, vision impaired, but returning, he began to write, and chose the Biblical *nom de plume* for his work.

Ethel M. Dell is a writer of real genius. She is able to take the most commonplace plots, and by deft touches,—by skillfully sketched characters, offer to her admirers a new novel that is never failing in its dramatic appeal. Her latest book is called " Greatheart,"[2] and the scene is Switzerland. It is the story of a girl, young, impulsive, who, released from the harsh monotony of her home, allows a seemingly mild flirtation to develop until it seems that the result must be tragedy. Perhaps the best character in the book is the heroine's brother, who is the saviour of the situation. Miss Dell is essentially a writer of love stories,—and in this newest book she has excelled herself. " Greatheart " can be well recommended for many companionable hours.

" The Pawns Count,"[3] by E. Phillips Oppenheim, is another book with war for its background, though this time diplomatic life serves as the stage setting for an exciting story. It is rather late in Mr. Oppenheim's literary career for any critic to say that his stories are machine made, or to comment on the fact that he is said to pace the floor every morning and dictate at the rate of several novels a year. What counts with Mr. Oppenheim's work is that fact that it is filled with breathless suspense, and that the reader has a thoroughly enjoyable and exciting time until the final chapter.

The new novel has its name from the weakest link in the chain of German intrigue as carried on by the German agents. This agent did not realize that the pawns count, and so in his carefully planned scheme he overlooked the very beautiful Miss Van Teyl. It would be unfair to tell the plot of the

[2] " Greatheart," by Ethel M. Dell. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.50 net.

[3] " The Pawns Count," by E. Phillips Oppenheim. Little Brown & Co. $1.50 net.

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story, save that it has to do with America during the first years of this present war. If, however, you need a diversion for a tiresome journey, "The Pawns Count" will serve that purpose.

"The Red Cross Barge"[4] is remarkable for the fact that it is a French war story with a German hero. Mrs. Belloc Lowndes, the author, has done a rather daring thing in this, but even the most pro-Allied reader will find the story worth while. The scene is Northern France, the time late in August, 1914, during those days when the Germans were pressing on towards Paris and expecting each day to bring about the fall of the city. Mrs. Lowndes has caught the spirit of the Huns with great accuracy, and though an English woman, it would almost seem that she had been in a city such as she describes during its German occupancy. The German hero is a doctor,—just as eager to get to Paris as the rest, but only because Paris means to him a chance to study at the Pasteur Institute. He has no enmity towards the French, and when he removes his distinguished patient to the Red Cross barge which is run by Jeanne Rouannes, he wonders that she should shrink from him, and that the love he offers her at first sight should be even momentarily spurned. Then comes the great result of the Battle of the Marne,—the German's flying before the reconquering France, the destruction of the town, and as an ending, the death of the Herr Doctor. It is a delicate and charming tale, and one that gives some insight to German character.

Slipping back through the ages, away from the conflicts that call for flying men and fortresses on wheels, "The Unwilling Vestal,"[5] by Edward Lucas White, draws a picture of Imperial Rome when that city ruled the world, when Roman life was a slowly shifting pageant, each scene more beautiful than the last. The story tells of a girl who, though she loves and is loved, is forced by circumstances to become one of the six vestal virgins of the Empire. The plot itself is slight,

[4] "The Red Cross Barge," by Mrs. Belloc Lowndes. The Geo. H. Doran Co. $1.25 net.

[5] "The Unwilling Vestal," by Lucas Edward White. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.50 net.

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rising to truly dramatic heights in only one place, and the love story that runs through the novel is tender, but not very impressive. The real charm of the book is the life that it describes. As a vestal the heroine is able to visit all quarters of Rome. She goes to the Coliseum, to banquets of State, to private homes, to religious ceremonies. She lives in constant terror that her love will be found out and she will be condemned to death.

"The Unwilling Vestal" is an entertaining result of considerable study on the part of the author.

Another book with an atmosphere that is apart from our Eastern existence is "Maktoub,"[6] by Matthew Craig. The novel contrasts Eastern and American standards of love and marriage, for the heroine is an American girl. It is a light story, well done as far as characterization goes, and quite companionable for a June afternoon when one is too lazy for more strenuous vacationing.

The Detective Story Comes Back

The detective story is coming back into its own. For the past few years there has been a hesitancy before buying a detective story on the part of a large class of readers who did not wish to read how a skillful sleuth unravels a baffling mystery. And now the pendulum has swung the other way, and the more mystery the better the book. The reason for this, so the publishers tell us, is that the big thinkers of the country need mental relaxation and the fighting men need a volume that will carry them away from the camp to romance-land.

"The House of Whispers"[7] is one of the best detective stories of the newer crop. It is from the pen of William Johnston, of "Limpy" fame, and while the haunted house is familiar, the fact that this home was an apartment lends immediate interest to the volume. The theme of the story is not altogether unusual, nor do the characters stand prominently in the gallery of unique American types. The story

[6] "Maktoub," by Matthew Craig. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.50 net.
[7] "The House of Whispers," by William Johnston. Little Brown & Co. $1.40 net.

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has plenty of suspense, however, and the mystery is unsolvable until the very end.

Arthur Stringer's "The House of Intrigue"[8] is a second detective story with a familiar crew of thieves of both sexes, lawyers, a doctor, an heiress, and a detective, who at the end straightens out the whole affair. If only Mr. Stringer, who is a writer of real ability, had chosen a more startling climax and a better explanation for the mystery the book would have been one of the biggest successes ever offered to a public demanding to be thrilled. As it is, the story is entertaining and worthy of banishing sleep until the end is reached.

A third book which, while not essentially a detective story has its mysterious angle, is "The Secret of the Marne."[9] It is a book of the war and tells how Sergeant Fritsch saved France. The swiftly moving narrative pictures what is supposed to be the solution of the French victory at the Battle of the Marne. It describes (fictionally) the reason for the now historic flank movement of the German army, giving the credit to the hero, Sergeant Fritsch. This amazing gentleman is introduced when he goes to take charge of the spy post which has been captured from the Germans. In the exciting adventures he misleads the enemy and saves Paris. Of course, there is a love story.

Having read even this short synopsis of the story it will probably be a surprise to those who know modern French literature to learn that this novel is not from the pen of a popular Saturday Evening Post writer, but was written by Sergeant Marcel Berger and his wife, Maude Berger. That two French writers could have caught the motion picture spirit of our native authors is in itself interesting, and one will watch with interest further work from the pen which has given us a good novel as well as that very interesting previous book, "Ordeal by Fire."

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[8] "The House of Intrigue," by Arthur Stringer. The Bobbs Merrill Co. $1.50 net.

[9] "The Secret of the Marne," by Marcel and Maude Berger. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.50 net.

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Some Other Novels

A handful of other novels includes Ethel M. Kelly's "Over Here,"[10] which is the story of an American war bride. The book might easily be the diary of any one of thousands of American girls who in the past year have known the refining fire of sacrifice. The story is slight, but exceedingly well done. Miss Kelly has a simplicity of style that should be cultivated, for with such a craftsmanship she will be able to write novels that are more than ordinarily worth while.

"Greater Than the Greatest,"[11] by Hamilton Drummond, is a romance of the thirteenth century, telling of the conflict between the head of the church and the Emperor, while George Barton's "The Mystery of the Red Flame"[12] is, as far as I know, the first novel from this author's pen. He is just as successful in fiction as in more solid narratives and the book keeps its air of suspense until the end. "Mashi and Other Stories,"[13] by Rabindranath Tagore, deserves more mention than is possible at present, though to announce that a new collection of stories from the pen of this gifted writer of the Orient is to announce to his large circle of admirers that they have a new pleasure in store.

Books of More Solid Themes

"Roving and Fighting,"[14] by Major E. S. O'Reilly, might almost be classed with the fiction, for it tells the more than ordinarily exciting adventures of "Tex" O'Reilly, whose exploits have served as the inspiration for more than one short story.

"Tex" O'Reilly received his name from the cowboys on the Texan ranch he inhabited until at seventeen he joined the colors during the Spanish-American war. War seemed to be the most interesting event in the career of the boy still

[10] "Over Here," by Ethel M. Kelly. The Bobbs Merrill Co. $1.50 net.
[11] "Greater Than the Greatest," by Hamilton Drummond. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.50 net.
[12] "The Mystery of the Red Flame," by George Barton. The Page Co. $1.50 net.
[13] "Mashi and Other Stories," by Rabindranath Tagore. The Macmillian Co. $1.50 net.
[14] "Roving and Fighting," by Major E. S. O'Reilly. The Century Co. $2.00 net.

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in his teens, so he went to the Philippines. When the fighting stopped being extraordinarily dangerous, he drifted still Eastward, and spent considerable time in Japan and China. Eventually he made his way round the world, and it is said that he left home with fifteen cents in his pocket and arrived back with twenty-five. Then came his South American and Mexican adventures, the end (for the present at least) of his twenty years of roving and fighting. There is quite a temptation to quote incident after incident from this book, but space does not permit.

"Letters to the Mother of a Soldier"[15] are apparently written by a brother in a distant city to his sister, whose son has gone "over there." They are truly remarkable letters, written with an insight and tenderness that will make them popular with many mothers, who will undoubtedly turn to them in some moment of doubt and find there a comforting paragraph. The last letter might almost be termed inspired:

MY DEAREST SISTER:

Valor?

No, you must have even more than valor. You who are capable of courage must be courageous.

Valor is a brilliant thing and young, bred of an hour's need. She has a flashing eye and a quick arm. She marches with head erect, and the boulevards echo her welcoming. Her costume is the brilliant panoply of war, and myriad banners flutter around her. Musically her side arms clink. She fears nothing. Death is the crown of her sacrifices.

But Courage—Courage is a homely soul. Her face is seamed and her hair grayed. Her hands are gnarled from hard labor and her back bent with carrying great burdens a long way. Silently she stumbles forward, alone; and few know her passing. Her arms are prayer, hope, faith. She fears naught save the mercy of God. Death is the least of the sacrifices she can make.

For Courage picks up her burden after Death has passed, and she carries it on, tireless, unreluctant, her eyes fixed upon the horizon. There she knows will appear, in His good time, the Dayspring of Peace.

[15] "Letters to the Mother of a Soldier," by Richardson Wright. F. A. Stokes & Co. $1.00 net.

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THE THEATRE IN REVIEW

By C. COURTENAY SAVAGE

Is There Psychology to Theatrical Success?

SUCCESS in the theatrical world, as in every other profession, moves in cycles, and is not always to be explained. One year plays of a certain type are in demand, two seasons later the public is crying for dramas of a vastly different variety—and always there is the craving for novelty.

The present season which is drawing to a close has been unparalleled in the history of the modern American stage. We have been at war, and the carefully made plans of a year ago were suddenly switched for more suitable productions. Light comedies, musical plays, and of late "war dramas" have held the boards, and it is interesting to note those that have succeeded, and why. Of greater interest, however, is the viewpoint the various theatrical managers have taken towards their war-time productions.

I recently asked Mr. Sam H. Harris, partner with Mr. George M. Cohan in forming the firm of Cohan & Harris, why, when so many of the theatrical managers were lamenting failures, his productions were so successful.

"There is no particular psychology in it," he declared, "just a determination to be thoroughly optimistic and to do our work as well and as quietly as possible."

Mr. Harris feels that there was too much of the spirit of panic in the theatrical world when war first sent the men in khaki swinging towards the training camps.

"People did not believe that they would have just as much money to spend, and the theatrical managers and actors spent so much of their time being sorry for what they would lose that they forgot to give the necessary care to their productions, and failure resulted.

"Personally, Mr. Cohan and I held a long and serious

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council before starting out on the 1917-18 season, and "keep calm" was the unwritten motto we placed before us. We made very few changes in our plans, and as far as we have been concerned, the first year of the war has taught us that people are just as anxious to spend money on amusement at this time as any other.

"No, I can't say that the psychology of theatrical success in war time is any different from any other time. It is a case of hard work, with the inevitable dash of luck that counts so much in all achievement."

Mr. Harris' firm, by the way, has produced "*The King*," with Leo Ditrichstein starred at the head of an extraordinarily capable company; two plays by the late Harry James Smith, "*The Tailor Made Man*" and "*The Little Teacher*"; "*Going Up*," which is called one of the best musical comedies of the year; "*The Cohan Review*," Mr. George M. Cohan's satirical handling of the season's successes, and now, at the end of the season, Chauncy Olcott in a new play by Rachael Crothers, "*Once Upon a Time*," a charming sentimental Irish comedy, woven around the adoring love of a "little orphan Annie" child.

A list of productions any producer might be well proud of!

"*Once Upon a Time*" was produced in the fall, and after a long and highly successful season was brought into New York to finish the season. Some one in a position to know reports that it is twelve years since Mr. Olcott's previous New York appearance. Miss Crothers, the author, has suited her action to Mr. Olcott's talents and made his charming ditties essential to the character of the romance.

Bringing the War to Broadway

The war spirit is on the American Stage! All season there have been war songs and lads in uniform, but within the past few weeks some real "war dramas" have been shown, one of them with a most remarkable history, and there has also been released Mr. David W. Griffith's latest motion picture, "*Hearts of the World*."

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Considering the spoken dramas first, perhaps the most interesting is "*The Man Who Stayed at Home.*" This play was first produced two years ago under the title "*The White Feather.*" It had been a success in London, but created only a small impression when given an American showing. Later an enterprising manager acquired the right to produce the play at the popular theatres throughout the country, where it made one-week, and sometimes one-night, stands. The next was changed ever so slightly and the name was changed to "*The Man Who Stayed at Home.*" The smaller cities liked the play and the management, suddenly growing bold, decided to try their luck in Boston, Pittsburg and one or two of the larger cities. Over night the rejected drama of a couple of seasons before developed into nothing more or less than a gold mine. "*The Man Who Stayed at Home*" contains considerable comedy, and there is none of the noise, confusion, or scenic efforts common to plays based on the war. The play as being shown in New York has an unusual company, one that almost approaches an "all star" cast, including Amelia Bingham, Charlotte Ives, Katherine Kaelred, Albert Brown.

Quite the opposite in the manner of construction, but equal in suspense and interest, are "*The American Ace*" and "*Seven Days' Leave.*" These are true melodramas. There are guns fired, lines that need shouting, moments of the scenic and electrical art that thrill, and when one leaves the theatre there is the old fashioned elation that used to be present when a real old fashioned melodrama played our home town and "the boys" filled the gallery at twenty-five cents an admission.

"*Seven Days' Leave*" is a successful English war drama retouched so as to appeal to American audiences. It has been playing in this country since early fall, and several companies will probably take its thrill throughout the United States next season.

"*The American Ace*" is the first flying drama. It is an Al Woods production, and before Mr. Woods settled himself on Broadway he made a fortune and a reputation for his lurid

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dramas, "*Nellie, the Beautiful Cloak Model*," "*Her Fatal Wedding*," and the rest. Therefore Mr. Woods must have enjoyed producing "*The American Ace*." It has all the elements of the old fashioned thrillers, but done in the very latest and most sensational 1918 stage fashion. To disclose the plot would be wrong, but this much can be said for "*The American Ace*," that it will have long popularity and is worth seeing for its spectacular effects.

"*Hearts of the World*" is a silent drama, but as a motion picture embodying all the great possibilities of that interesting industry it deserves the most serious mention. To begin with, the picture was made under the guidance of David W. Griffiths. Mr. Griffiths has given us some remarkable pictures in the past few years, most notable among them being the still popular "*The Birth of a Nation*." For his new play Mr. Griffiths has gone to France and the actual battle front. He received the permission of the French and English commanders to take actual battle scenes, and with true genius he has worked these scenes into the thread of his story with skill rarely if ever before seen in a motion picture. The characters of the play are naturally portrayed and the general effect on the audiences is one of great patriotism. Many cities where the play is being shown report a marked increase in recruiting, and the play has the unique distinction of being highly praised by military men, who say it will be of great value in keeping up the morale of the fighting men. Certainly every man and woman who sees the picture leaves with a great personal longing to be the exterminator of at least one member of the Hun force.

Two More War Plays

Two additional plays of the war, one of them a comedy of the most entertaining order, the other a rather uninteresting translation from the French, are among the season's late comers.

The comedy is from the pen of Cyril Harcourt, author of "*A Pair of Silk Stockings*," and is called a "*Pair of Petti-*

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coats." It is essentially a play of character development and the story is built entirely by conversation of the smartest order. The plot is slight, but comes nearer to reflecting real life than some of our so-called "virile" dramas. Mr. Harcourt, by the way, is playing one of the principal roles, doing it with much gusto, and making the character doubly interesting, as he is able to give the author's true conception of the part.

I recently had the opportunity of talking with Mr. Harcourt regarding the realism of the so-called "conversational" dramas.

"If anything the conversational, or character building drama, is more real than the ordinarily popular play of the day. To my mind the character-building drama depicts life as it is. It does not people the stage with a lot of abnormal conditions and characters. In the character-building drama people do and say things that reflect real life. They don't go into hysterics, smash the furniture, and pull revolvers from their knitting bags.

"Really, the work of the true dramatists is not a question of plot, but a question of tempo. All of my plays have a story and every scene has its climax. Only the play is written and acted with an eye to reflecting real life."

The other play is "*Service,*" by Henri Lavedan, and Mrs. Fiske has been sacrificed in the part. The play tells of a mother's effort to convert her pacifist son to the right attitude towards the war. Mrs. Fiske plays with a degree of perfection seldom seen on the American stage, but not even her acting, nor the work of a young French actor, Georges Flateau, can carry the play to real success. Flateau, by the way, is a veteran of Verdun. He was discharged after having been wounded, and it is an odd coincidence that his first part on the American stage should be that of a pacifist.

As the second half of the bill ("*Service*" is not long enough to complete an evening's entertainment) Lord Dunsany's "*A Night at the Inn*" is presented. The play is familiar through its text and has been shown on several occasions throughout the country. This new presentation does not add

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to his already established reputation, in fact, in some respects it detracts, for to quote the dramatic critic of the New York Tribune,

> "The horror of the oncoming footsteps of the god was entirely lost, since they sounded like nothing much but a fat man walking upstairs, which is certainly not very terrible to anybody but the fat man."

The Spring Season for Shakespeare—And Ibsen

Shakespeare has been receiving some very intelligent and sincere consideration this spring, and in addition to the band of players under Edith Wynn Mathison of "*Everyman*" fame, who have been giving Friday afternoon and Saturday morning performances, no less a personage than Laurette Taylor has been offered a series of Shakespeare matinees.

Miss Taylor has chosen for her first Shakespearean performances scenes from three plays, "*The Merchant of Venice*," "*The Taming of the Shrew*," and "*Romeo and Juliet*." Her conception of the three widely different characters is interesting, but almost too heroic an attempt for one afternoon. Frankly, Miss Taylor was not at her best. She did not reach the high quality she has reached so continuously in modern comedies. Of all the interpretations, her "*Portia*" was the most interesting.

Nazimova, who opened her Ibsen season with the rarely seen "*Wild Duck*," and was forced to continue it beyond the time announced, is at her very best in her revival of "*Hedda Gabler*." Nazimova gives an extraordinary performance, one that does not reflect in every way the character drawn by the great Scandinavian dramatist, but no one ever turns their head when she is acting, and people forget to cough even in a season of spring colds. "*Hedda Gabler*" as played by Nazimova is one of the most remarkable revivals of many seasons. She has also given "*A Doll's House*," one of her familiar roles. Her interpretation is interesting and satisfying to her admirers.

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Two New Musical Comedies

"Fancy Free" and "The Rainbow Girl" arrived immediately after Easter, and there is no real reason why summer visitors to the East should not have the opportunity of enjoying them, for they contain every element necessary for successful musical comedies—songs, dances, humor and prettily dressed girls from the beauty mould.

"The Rainbow Girl" is a successful comedy set to music. It concerns a musical comedy favorite who marries a member of the nobility and finds on going to his ancestral home that the servants are all her relations. The situations that follow are funny, and the music contains some little turns, sung by people who had studied vocal music.

The other music play comes from the West and is called *"Fancy Free."* Clifton Crawford is the star, and incidentally the author of the words and music he sings. Mr. Crawford is always funny; he has a droll manner that is not of the ordinary, and, unlike many comedians, he seldom makes remarks that are irrelevant to the text of the play.

Three Revivals and a New Comedy

Late Spring is always a season of revivals, and three plays, two of them of the one-act variety, have been offered. Oscar Wild's *"Salome"* has the leading feature of a showing by Washington Square Players. The performance is of the "guest nature," with several famous players in the cast and is a riot of Oriental beauty. The other short play is *"The New Work,"* which, together with two other playlets, formed a Barrie evening, and is now shown with Ethel Barrymore's new play, *"Belinda."* This newest light comedy again finds Miss Barrymore playing a mother.—this time a very farcical creature who disguises her daughter as a niece and proceeds to carry on a flirtation with the husband she left nearly a score of years before. The play is slight, but farce at its very highest tempo.

Sidney Grundy's costume comedy, *"A Marriage of Convenience,"* has been revived and proves that in spite of its age it is still interesting. With a cast headed by Billie Burke and

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Henry Miller, it is proving a late spring attraction of more than passing interest.

"Out There" for the Red Cross

Perhaps the most interesting occurrence of the whole theatrical season is the revival of Hartley Manners' very splendid play, *"Out There,"* with an all star cast for the benefit of the American Red Cross. This play, with its chief scene in a field hospital, is splendid drama, and with Laurette Taylor in her role of *Annie Hudd,* together with such players as George Cohan, Helen Ware, Julia Arthur, H. B. Warner, James T. Powers, to help out, the American Red Cross is justified in the high prices that were asked for seats. The play toured the East under government guidance with a special train during the Red Cross drive just closed, and while the exact earnings of the venture are not ready for publication, they will be large, for all the money raised goes to the Red Cross, everything connected with the production having been donated to the cause of the relief of the boys on the battlefield.

UNCLE SAM'S NEWSPAPER

STOP "writing to Washington" for every conceivable question about the war. The President's newspaper, *The Official Bulletin,* will tell you what you want to know. Every day it prints all the more important rulings, decisions, regulations, proclamations, orders, etc., as they are promulgated by the several departments and the many special committees and agencies now in operation at the National Capital. This official journal is posted daily in every postoffice in the United States, more than 56,000 in number, and may also be found on file at all libraries, boards of trade and chambers of commerce, the offices of mayors, governors, and other federal officials. By consulting these files most questions will be found readily answered; there will be little necessity for letter writing; the unnecessary congestion of the mails will be appreciably relieved; the railroads will be called upon to move fewer correspondence sacks and the mass of business that is piling up in the government departments will be eased considerably. Hundreds of clerks, now answering correspondence, will be enabled to give their time to essentially important work, and a fundamentally important service will have been performed by the public.

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THE FINANCIAL SITUATION

By W. S. COUSINS

COINCIDENT with the closing of the whirlwind campaign for the third Liberty Loan, the stock and bond markets were struck with a boom which in one short week carried the price of the market " leaders " to the highest point they have reached since the turn of the yar, and established records for daily transactions that have not been equaled in a twelve-month period.

It is characteristic of the general public to participate in stock trading only during the progress of a rising market. They have never fully comprehended the mysteries of short selling. Bull movements always gather momentum as they proceed, whereas a bear market is marked by a steady decline in the aggregate of stock transactions.

The present upward tendency in security prices may easily be attributed to the satisfactory development of the military, agricultural, business and political outlook. For a long time skillful observers of financial conditions have been commenting on the strength and stability of the " technical condition " of the stock markets, and predicting that with the removal of a few elements that were obstructing the natural progress of financial events, an appreciation in the market value of the country's prime securities was inevitable. They said that the declines which had taken place during the last twelve months had been sufficient to discount all that was unfavorable in the war conditions, and that securities had been greatly undervalued in the discounting process.

Industrials to the Fore

It will be remembered that the railroad stocks " had their day " immediately after the taking over of the carriers by the Government on a guaranty of the maintenance of dividends on a three-year pre-war average basis. No single factor

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which could have been brought to bear on the railroad situation was of such momentous value as that of Government operation and financial guaranty. Railroad stocks made an immediate response of from 5 to 25 points increase, and have remained comparatively steady since that time.

Under the leadership of United States Steel Common, the industrial shares have now come into their own, and investors have begun to realize the wonderfully intrinsic values of stocks that have almost gone begging in the speculative markets. The Steel shares, which until the early part of May had made many ineffectual attempts to reach par, had gone twelve points beyond par by the middle of the month and were apparently headed for higher records. Our giant corporations are in these days of national crisis becoming more highly appreciated by those who are directing the course of events at Washington, and are rising to the emergency in providing the essential materials of war. It is now announced that U. S. Steel is to erect an immense plant for the increased production of ordnance.

The industrial stocks may also expect to benefit from the new era of business prosperity which is already at our doors. Business men say we do not need to wait for the " after the war " trade, which, according to the popular notion, is calculated to produce such wonderful results for our country we have only to reach out and grasp the present opportunity.

Speaking on this point a short time ago, Mr. E. B. Merritt, of P. W. Brooks & Co., Inc., investment bankers, made the following observation:

> " Our domestic trade is on a sound basis; in an economic sense we have profited by the conflict. Business was stimulated to a degree never before known, as foreign trade increased to unheard of proportions, gold literally poured into the country. From a condition of business depression at the beginning of the war we achieved the greatest degree of prosperity ever known. When the war comes to an end, business will reach a pitch surpassing anything seen before we entered the

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war. We alone of all the great nations have not suffered; our industries are intact, our people prosperous and our finances sound. The credit machinery of the Reserve Bank will assure us of a ready medium of financing both foreign and domestic trade, and there is no reason to anticipate monetary difficulties, no matter how great the volume of legitimate commercial expansion.

"We are justified in being optimistic; we are going to experience a period of extreme prosperity after the war, and it naturally follows that the amount of money seeking permanent investment will be large. Government borrowings will be very much diminished, if not altogether stopped. The municipalities and corporations will come into the market seeking funds. The industrials having profited from their war orders, will not be large borrowers. They have set apart a large proportion of their earnings for the purpose of reducing their indebtedness and making extensions, so their needs for the immediate future have been taken care of. Except for refunding operations, they need not be considered. The railroads, no matter what the outcome of the recent experiment of Government operations, will be heavy borrowers. They will need friends for every corporate purpose, and we can expect them to dominate the market to an extent comparable with the palmy days of railroad securities, when everything offered the investing public was judged by the real standard. Municipalities will take advantage of the market thus created to do their financing, which has been deferred by war conditions. Public Utilities issues will appear in greater volume and foreign government and municipal bonds will be offered freely in the American market. We can also expect to see a certain amount of South American and European corporation securities put in an appearance. They will naturally turn to us as the largest source of capital, and if we are to maintain our place as a power in world finance, we will have to meet their requirements."

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Investors Multiplying

It is always difficult to give full credit to the successful introduction of a desirable reform or innovation until the effects of that reform have become thoroughly apparent in the changing of the habits and customs of the people. Immediately prior to the declaration of war by this country, after our allies had been for three years at the struggle, we had become quite accustomed to the reports of the increase of personal thrift and saving from England and Canada and of the wider acceptance of each of the succeeding war loans.

To-day we have verified this experience in the United States of America.

Thus in the first Liberty Loan the total subscriptions were 4,000,000, coming mostly from the corporations and the men of large means, many of whom recognized in that Government tax-exempt loan a security of the premier class. Then came the second Liberty Loan, more than twice as big as the first, and when the returns were tabulated it was found that the number of subscribers was nine and a half millions, or one for every twelfth man, woman and child in the United States. The third Liberty Loan was successfully consummated. Unofficial estimates have placed the total of separate subscriptions at approximately *eighteen millions,* or one out of every six persons in the United States.

Tax Payments Cannot Be Deferred

Financial conditions in the United States, according to the Secretary of the Treasury, make it inadvisable at this time to defer payment of the taxes due on June 15th. The Secretary has convinced the leaders of Congress that it would be unwise to enact legislation providing for partial payments, and therefore it may be assumed that this proposed legislation is dead. Efforts are still being made by prominent financiers to induce the Treasury Department to change its mind because of the burden which will be imposed on many industries and also because of the strain on the money market. Thus far there seems to be no indication of any modification of the Secretary's position.

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The FORUM'S Policy, Constructive Nationalism

TO WIN THE WAR

What is Constructive Nationalism?

Constructive business, industry, organizations—that look to a permanent betterment of our social and organic life as a democratic people.

National unity, solidarity, in common aims of the whole people, politically, socially, educationally, and fundamentally, as one people, one flag, one language, one loyalty.

It is the desire of The FORUM to open its pages to the thought of the best constructive thinkers in our country, that their thought may be the seeds or the stimulating means of a definite, substantial nationalism; aligning its aims and policies with the forces to win the war.

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